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IRELAND.

By GEORGE LEWIS SMYTH.

THE OBJECT of this work is to present to the Reader a plain Summary of the Past and Present State of Ireland; and to trace impartially to their sources the more prominent causes of the wretchedness and discontent by which the Country and the People have almost from time immemorial been distracted.

For this purpose the work will be Historical and Statistical. It will contain, under distinct heads—

A SUMMARY of the principal STATISTICAL and POLITICAL FACTS which give a character to the Population and to the Government of the Country.

A SERIES of OUTLINES of the HISTORY of the Connection with England, in which an attempt will be made to distinguish and account for the various systems and practices applied to the management of Irish Affairs, from the Invasion of Henry II. to the Present Time.

A REVIEW of the PROSPECTS and Progress of Public Works in Ireland—Canals, Navigations, Railways, &c., in which the policy of continuing the system of control and assistance hitherto maintained will be discussed.

A CRITICAL ACCOUNT of the state of Agriculture and the Reclamations of Waste Lands—of the relations between Landlord and Tenant—and the Laws in force with respect to Land, its owners and occupiers.

AN EXPOSITION of the STATE of RELIGION, of the different Sects—their respective numbers, Churches, Chapels. Priesthoods, Revenues and Establishments, and also their claims to further support.

A NOTICE in detail of the various Educational Establishments, and their modes and means of conveying instruction, with suggestions for their extension and improvement.

SKETCHES of the State of COMMERCE, MANUFACTURES, BANKING, MINING, &c.

AN EXAMINATION of the Charitable and Industrial Institutions of the Community, with remarks upon some of the plans brought forward to render them more efficient.

Lastly, will be considered the progress and probable results of the AGITATION for a REPEAL of the LEGISLATIVE UNION, and the measures proposed by way of alternatives for such a change.

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IRELAND:

HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL.

By GEORGE LEWIS SMYTH.

London: Whittaker & Co.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"The History of Ireland, its Public Works and Joint-stock Enterprises—last, and more than any other to the purpose—the Chapter on Land, with its frightful details of confiscations and forfeitures,—the history of tenures; the conduct of landlords, and the condition of their tenantry: these important subjects will here be found treated of with copiousness, exactness, the most commendable moderation, and a degree of practical ability most desirable in the consideration of Irish matters. * * * There are no tedious narrations nor pedantic displays, but the main object, the development of the actual state of the country, is kept constantly in view, and the reader who is at all interested in the matter, is stimulated to a thorough investigation of the subject. We know of no single work which contains so copious and intelligent an account of Ireland. The estimate of O'Connell is generous and discriminating. We have seldom read a more masterly composition, so profound in thought, so impressive in feeling, so chaste and elegant in diction."—*Jerrold's Weekly News.*

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"Mr. Smyth approached his task with many advantages; he is not only a good general scholar and enthusiastic student, but he is an antiquary deeply read in Irish lore. More than this, he is an Irishman, and this is an essential qualification to enable any man to write well and wisely, fully and beneficially, about Ireland. His long practice too, as a Parliamentary Agent, has made him intimately acquainted with the wants, the resources, and the possible prospects of his native country and its inhabitants, whom he knows thoroughly, from the castle to the hovel; added to all, he has never been engaged in party strifes or sectarian broils; and is therefore unaffected by political or religious bigotry. He is a man of a truly enlarged and liberal mind. * * * Of the accuracy and value of the work there can be no doubt:—The first chapter consists of a statistical and political summary regarding Ireland as it was, territorially, commercially, economically, fiscally, and with reference to its public institutions and establishments, and framework of government, down to the end of 1844. The second chapter treats of the state of Ireland at the period of the English Invasion: it is written in a calm, wise, and learned spirit, without undue scepticism or credulity. In the third chapter we have an account of the Invasion, and with this chapter properly commenced the Outlines of the History of the Connection with England. These extend throughout the whole of the first, and more than half of the second volume, and most ably are they drawn. They give a better and truer view of the state of Ireland, and of the nature of its connection with England, than any work that has been yet written, as naturally should be, being the last, and executed by the hands of one competent to avail himself of all the labours of his predecessors, and mould them into a compact and symmetrical form; but Mr. Smyth has done more than this, he has put together the materials at his command under the governance of a *new idea* (using idea in its proper sense as laid down). He has perceived that which indeed is shadowed out in Spencer's view of Ireland, but which escaped Sir John Davis and Count Lally Tollendal, and all other writers with whom we are acquainted, on Ireland, that for centuries the History of England had comparatively very little to do with the History of Ireland; but that on the other hand, largely and vitally, the History of Ireland was the History of the De Burghs, the Geraldines, and the Butlers. In a word, the Fitzgeralds were the Guises of Ireland,

with far greater personal sway and power, and much higher personal position. Mr. Smyth's narrative of the varying fortunes of the great houses, is as exciting as a romance, and a wild romance it is, of stern reality; and his portraits of the many distinguished individuals who sprung from these great houses, and the contemporary Lord Deputies, English Generals, and Irish Chiefs, are drawn with great skill, fidelity, and vigour."—*Morning Chronicle.*

"Those who would fully understand the pernicious effects of a system which, as Lord Clare truly said, 'would beat down the most powerful nation of the earth,' should read the chapter on *Public Works and Joint-stock Enterprises* in SMYTH'S IRELAND, HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL. Of the general merits of this work we have not left ourselves room to speak here; but, as connected with our subject, we earnestly recommend our readers who wish well to Ireland, to study the fourteenth chapter, from which we make a few extracts."—*Westminster Review.*

"Mr. Smyth discovers industry and acumen, and an intimate knowledge of the real wants and actual resources of the country. He has gathered his information from every available quarter, and accumulated a mass of practical matter, which may be advantageously consulted by every person connected with Ireland, or interested in her welfare. The chapters on Land Historically Considered, and on Public Works and Joint-stock Enterprises, are full of useful and curious statements. Mr. Smyth is familiar with this subject, and deals with it *con amore.*"—*Atlas.*

"A critical and learned investigation of our ancient records, and a clear exposition and analysis of our recent and parliamentary history—this work, especially in its modern details, derives a peculiar value from the statesman-like powers of mind, professional facilities, and other advantages possessed by the writer. In the summary view of the religious history and statistics of this country now before us, Mr. Smyth treats his subjects as a political writer. He addresses us as a man of the world and not as the ecclesiastical historian, and as such we must take him. * * * The most prominent of these questions, and that upon which Mr. Smyth dwells most emphatically, is obviously that of placing the Catholic and Presbyterian Churches on a footing of equality with the Established Church. The considerations involved in this subject are of the most difficult and knotty character, but the writer deals with them without any hesitation. He lays down the principles of a church establishment according to Warburton and Paley; quotes a variety of testimonials in support of his opinions; expounds a proposal for a provision for the Catholic clergy; and offers various suggestions, which he makes applicable to both the Catholic and the Presbyterian Churches. Mr. Smyth's is not the work of a partisan. It is, perhaps, one of the calmest, most truthful, and philosophical essays ever produced. He has, we believe, adhered closer to truth than any writer on Irish history ever ventured to do before; and, as his views are large, liberal, generous, and candid, even when they differ from our own, they merit respect and consideration."—*Dublin Press.*

"Of the writers who have aimed at presenting within the compass of a single work, at once a minute and a comprehensive view of the past and present state of Ireland, few are more painstaking and trustworthy than the author of the work before us, now completed by the publication of the third volume. A native of Ireland, but for a great part of his life a resident in England, Mr. Smyth is better acquainted than most men with the peculiarities of his fellow-subjects on both sides of the channel. His professional career has brought him into constant intercourse with the leading men of all parties; and the portion of his work which relates to the last quarter of a century is entitled to all the credit of contemporary history, written by a man thoroughly acquainted with the subject. His sympathies are more Whiggish, and his impulses tamer than we could wish. But he is always shrewd, practical, and well informed, and never, we think, deliberately unjust. Irishmen will naturally find many deficiencies, both in the matter and the treatment of his work. But we hardly know any book of the same class which we would so strongly recommend to the general perusal of Englishmen. Mr. Smyth has avoided the error so often committed by both English and Irish writers, of taking for granted that the English reader sets out with a fair knowledge of the general structure of Irish society. Whatever subject his limits admit of his touching on, he gives as formal and regular an account of as if he were writing about China or Japan. He does not forget the ignorance of those for whom he is writing; and this is the great secret in writing books about Ireland which will be generally useful here. We heartily wish the Irish had a book about England, written in the same spirit. For they are as often as much at a loss to understand our merits as we are to appreciate theirs."—*Daily News.*

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GEORGE LEWIS SMYTH.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
WHITTAKER AND CO., AVE MARIA LANE.
MDCCCXLIV.

LONDON:
WILLIAM STEVENS, PRINTER, BELL YARD,
TEMPLE BAR.

44432

TO

NICHOLAS MAHER, ESQ., M.P.,

TURTULLA, TIPPERARY.

My dear Maher,

It affords me peculiar pleasure to dedicate to you this account of the past and present state of our country.

If I were to recapitulate here all the motives which have led me to prefix your name to these pages, I should trespass upon the reserve of private friendship. There are public grounds, however, on which the selection becomes so appropriate, that I may be fairly allowed to mention some of them. As a constant resident in the country—a practical agriculturalist—a large landed proprietor—and one of the representatives in Parliament of an extensive, populous, and wealthy county,—you take, I know, a deep interest in the subject itself, and will regard, I am sure, with indulgence, this attempt to make its importance more generally understood.

There are, it is true, opinions expressed and views taken in this Work, which neither you, nor a large number of our fellow countrymen, at present coincide in. I am not, however, the less disposed, on that account, to place it in your hands or theirs. I have studied to be impartial, and spoken deliberate convictions; and I rely with confidence upon the candour

and justice of all parties, for an honest appreciation of my intentions in offering this humble contribution to the cause we have all at heart—the good of Ireland.

I am, my dear Maher,

Ever truly and sincerely yours,

GEO. LEWIS SMYTH.

Bridge Street, Westminster,
April, 1844.

ERRATA.

Page 90, in note, for *bishop* read *priest*.

Page 184. The statement here as to the extinction of the house of Fitzmaurice is erroneous. It is the house of Petty, first Earl of Shelburne, that is extinct in the male line. The present Marquis of Lansdowne took the titles of Baron and Earl of Kerry, as the next male heir, upon the death, in 1818, of Francis Thomas, mentioned in the text. The correct genealogy is this:— Thomas, twenty-first lord of Kerry, married Anne, only daughter of Sir W. Petty, whose only son was created Earl of Shelburne. After this earl's death, without children, his title was conferred upon John, fifth son of his sister, Lady Kerry. John Fitzmaurice thereupon changed his name to Petty, and upon the failure of issue from his elder brothers, his own issue became Barons Kerry, Viscounts Fitzmaurice, and Earls of Kerry.

IRELAND,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

STATISTICAL AND POLITICAL SUMMARY.

NUMBER OF ACRES AND PEOPLE.—THEIR OCCUPATIONS, DWELLINGS, AND EXTENT OF EDUCATION.—VALUE AND RENTAL OF LAND.—TAXATION AND DEBT.—EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.—ESTABLISHMENTS, THEIR NUMBER, OBJECTS, AND EXPENSES.—HOW FILLED.—COLONIAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT.—ITS INJURIOUS EFFECTS.—POLICY AND ECONOMY OF ABOLISHING IT, AND ADMINISTERING THE AFFAIRS OF IRELAND AS THOSE OF SCOTLAND ARE ADMINISTERED.—RECAPITULATION.

According to the Report of the Census Commissioners of Ireland for 1841, the surface of the island contains 8,175,124 persons, and 20,808,271 acres. Deducting from the latter 630,825 acres of water, the land will consist of 20,177,446 acres.* Of these there are 374,482 which are covered by

* There appears some discrepancy in the separate statements of the Commissioners under this head. At page XIII of the Report, the number of arable acres is set forth at 20,765,342. At page 452, the number of acres upon the surface of the island is given as 20,808,271, which seems an error, as if the acreage in water be added to the arable acreage enumerated at p. XIII, the total surface would be 21,396,167.

There has been a Parliamentary Census of the Population of Ireland three times, according to which the inhabitants were—

In 1821	6,801,827
1831	7,767,401
1841	8,175,124

being an addition from 1821 to 1831 of about 14¼ per cent., and but 5¼ per cent. from 1831 to 1841; as to which, however, the Commissioners assert that the numbers returned in 1831 were greater, and those in 1821

plantations, 13,464,300 which are cultivated, and 6,295,735 waste.

Upon the same authority we learn that the 8,175,124 persons inhabit 1,328,839 houses, of which 491,278 are mud cabins containing only one room; 533,297 are mud cabins containing from two to four rooms; 264,184 good farm-houses, and houses in the back streets of towns, containing from four to nine rooms; and 40,080 are houses of a better description. Out of the total number of 1,328,839 dwellings, therefore, no less than 1,024,575 are mud cabins.

Again, of the total number of inhabitants, 8,175,124, no less than 625,356 families, numbering 3,470,725 persons, live in single rooms, while the rural population engrosses 7,039,659. The wages of the labouring portion of this monstrous majority vary in the South and West from 4*d.* to 10*d.*, and in the North from 8*d.* to 1*s.* a day. Under so depressed a state of things, it cannot surprise us to find the Commissioners of Poor Enquiry in the year 1836* reporting that 2,385,000 of the whole

less than the actual population. But from the native population, from 1831 to 1841, there were drafts in the way of

Emigration to the Colonies	428,471
„ Great Britain	104,814
Recruits for the Army	34,090
„ East India Company	5,089
	572,464

This number added to the resident population gives a total of 8,747,588. Subjecting the Returns for 1831 to the same corrections, there appear—

Census of 1831	7,767,401
Emigration from 1821 to 1831	70,000
Recruits do.	46,402
	7,883,803
Deduct Army in Ireland	29,486
Computed Population in 1831	7,854,317
Do. in 1841	8,747,588
Computed increase	893,271

being an increase of nearly 12 per cent. *Census Report*, 1841.

* Third Report, p. 5. The estimate is—"Number of persons out of work, and in distress, during 30 weeks in the year, 585,000—number of persons dependent upon them, 1,800,000,—in the whole, 2,385,000." In the preceding page, the average earnings of agricultural labourers in England are stated to be from 8*s.* to 10*s.* a week; and in Ireland, from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*

population are paupers; and as that population has since increased, and the unproductive harvests of three ungenial seasons in succession have added to the general distress, we are not warranted, unfortunately, in supposing that there is now less destitution and suffering in Ireland than there was eight years ago. Amongst a people so poor, it follows as a natural consequence that a large body should also be extremely ignorant. Out of the total resident population, after deducting children under five years of age, the Census Commissioners return 3,766,066 as unable to read or write.

In the following Table, drawn up from the Report of the Census Commissioners, by D. Phelan, Esq., Author of the "Enquiry into the Medical Charities of Ireland," and late an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, a striking view is exhibited of the circumstances and condition of the population.

PROVINCE.	COUNTY.	Population of County.	Number of Persons residing in Houses of 4th Class Accommodation.	Proportion per Cent. of the Population residing in Houses of 4th Class Accommodation.
				Mean.
Leinster.	Wexford	202,033	58,446	$28\frac{1}{3}$
	Dublin	140,070	39,882	$28\frac{1}{3}$
	Kilkenny	202,420	61,934	31
	Carlow County	86,228	27,694	$31\frac{1}{2}$
	Queen's County	153,930	50,465	$32\frac{3}{4}$
	Wicklow	126,143	41,314	$32\frac{3}{4}$
	King's County	146,857	49,022	$33\frac{1}{3}$
	Kildare	114,488	38,932	$34\frac{1}{3}$
	Longford	115,491	40,331	$35\frac{3}{4}$
	Westmeath	141,300	54,195	38
	Meath	183,828	69,124	40
	Louth and Drogheda	128,240	52,269	42
	County of City of Dublin	232,726	128,742	$55\frac{1}{2}$
Munster.	Waterford County and City	196,187	71,349	$36\frac{4}{11}$
	Tipperary	435,553	174,270	40
	Limerick County and City	330,029	166,758	50
	Clare	286,394	152,236	53
	Cork County and City	773,398	399,177	$54\frac{1}{2}$
	—— City	80,720	32,445	
	Kerry	293,880	185,308	$66\frac{2}{3}$
Ulster.	Down	361,446	91,575	$22\frac{2}{3}$
	Antrim	360,875	101,171	28
	Armagh	232,393	73,537	$31\frac{3}{4}$
	Monaghan	200,442	64,235	$32\frac{1}{2}$

PROVINCE.	COUNTY.	Population of County.	Number of Persons residing in Houses of 4th Class Accommodation.	Proportion per Cent. of the Population residing in Houses of 4th Class Accommodation.
				Mean.
Ulster— *continued.*	Tyrone	312,956	114,922	36⅔
	Londonderry . . .	222,174	82,478	37
	Cavan	243,158	88,860	37⅓
	Fermanagh . . .	156,481	64,313	41
	Donegal	296,448	139,876	47
Connaught.	Leitrim	155,297	70,540	45⅓
	Roscommon . . .	253,591	121,467	47¾
	Sligo	180,886	89,277	49
	Galway County and Town	440,198	229,142	52
	Mayo	388,887	241,052	62
				Mean.
	Total of Leinster . .	1,973,754	712,350	36⅓
				Mean.
	Total of Munster . .	2,396,161	1,181,543	49⅓
				Mean.
	Total of Ulster . .	2,386,373	820,967	34⅓
				Mean.
	Total of Connaught . .	1,418,859	751,478	52¾
				Mean.
	Total of Ireland . .	8,175,147	3,466,338	42⅓

In all these details of the actual state of Ireland, and its inhabitants, the leading facts are so bold, and they stand so prominently forward, that the attention of the least reflecting minds must be attracted by them. Upon thinking men, they will necessarily produce so deep an impression, as to render the simplest recapitulation of them sufficient to fix their true character upon the memory. They are, 1st, the large quantity of uncultivated compared with cultivated land—6,295,735 to 13,464,300 acres: 2ndly, the vast preponderance in the number of persons dependent upon agriculture—7,039,659 out of 8,175,124: 3rdly, the excess of mud cabins —1,024,575 out of 1,328,839 dwellings: 4thly, the abject poverty and ignorance shown in the low rate of wages and the inability of 3,766,066 persons above five years of age either to read or to write.

Under these few heads we detect the deep-seated and

wide-spread roots of many of those evils which are a shame to our humanity ; and of not a few of the heavy grievances long reasonably but unavailingly complained of and remonstrated against—evils and grievances of which the dark and disheartening parallel is not to be found in any other country in Europe.*

* Of the many writers who have described the distress of the Irish poor, the last is the best. His relation of the persons, places, the objects he saw, and the impressions produced upon his mind by them, is plain and without vanity or prejudice. In his preceding travels, the poorest people in the poorest countries of Europe, had fallen under his notice: he came to visit Ireland with an intimate knowledge of the miseries endured by pauper populations, such as no other traveller with whom we are acquainted has possessed. The following extract from the recently published "Travels in Ireland," by J. G. Kohl, is long, but too truthful and forcible to be abridged:—

"I remember, when I saw the poor Lettes in Livonia, I used to pity them for having to live in huts built of the unhewn logs of trees, the crevices being stopped up with moss. I pitied them on account of their low doors, and their diminutive windows, and gladly would I have arranged their chimnies for them in a more suitable manner. Well, Heaven pardon my ignorance. I knew not that I should ever see a people on whom Almighty God had imposed yet heavier privations. Now that I have seen Ireland, it seems to me that the Lettes, the Esthonians, and the Finlanders, lead a life of comparative comfort, and poor Paddy would feel like a King with their houses, their habiliments, and their daily fare.

"A wooden house, with moss to stop up its crevices, would be a palace in the wild regions of Ireland. Paddy's cabin is built of earth, one shovelful over the other, with a few stones mingled here and there, till the wall is high enough. But perhaps you will say, the roof is thatched or covered with bark. Ay, indeed! A few sods of grass cut from a neighbouring bog are his only thatch. Well, but a window or two at least, if it be only a pane of glass fixed in the wall, or the bladder of some animal, or a piece of talc, as may often be seen in a Wallachian hut? What idle luxury were this! There are thousands of cabins in which not a trace of a window is to be seen; nothing but a little square hole in front, which doubles the duty of door, window and chimney; light, smoke, pigs, and children, all must pass in and out of the same aperture!

"A French author, Beaumont, who had seen the Irish peasant in his cabin, and the North American Indian in his wigwam, has assured us that the savage is better provided for than the poor man in Ireland. Indeed, the question may be raised, whether in the whole world a nation is to be found that is subjected to such physical privations as the peasantry in some parts of Ireland. This fact cannot be placed in too strong a light; for if it can once be shown that the wretchedness of the Irish population is without a parallel example on the globe, surely every friend of humanity will feel himself called on to reflect whether means may not be found for remedying an evil of so astounding a magnitude!

"A Russian peasant, no doubt, is the slave of a harder master, but still he is fed and housed to his content, and no trace of mendicancy is to be seen in him. The Hungarians are certainly not among the best used people in the world; still, what fine wheaten bread, and what wine, has

Having grown up, and been suffered to exist notwithstanding the intimate connection of England with Ireland, and the laws passed by the legislature of Great Britain, they must be

even the humblest among them for his daily fare! The Hungarian would scarcely believe it, if he were to be told there was a country in which the inhabitants must content themselves with potatoes every alternate day in the year.

"Servia and Bosnia are reckoned among the most wretched countries of Europe, and certainly the appearance of one of their villages has little that is attractive about it; but at least the people, if badly housed, are well clad. We look not for much luxury or comfort among the Tartars of the Crimea; we call them poor and barbarous, but, good heavens! they look at least like human creatures. They have a national costume, their houses are habitable, their orchards are carefully tended, and their gaily-harnessed ponies are mostly in good condition. An Irishman has nothing national about him but his rags,—his habitation is without a plan, his domestic economy without rule or law. We have beggars and paupers among us, but they form at least an exception: whereas, in Ireland, beggary or abject poverty is the prevailing rule. The nation is one of beggars, and they who are above beggary seem to form the exception.

"The African negroes go naked, but then they have a tropical sun to warm them. The Irish are little removed from a state of nakedness, and their climate, though not cold, is cool, and extremely humid.

"The Indians in America live wretchedly enough at times, but they have no knowledge of a better condition, and, as they are hunters, they have every now and then a productive chase, and are able to make a number of feast days in the year. Many Irishmen have but one day on which they eat flesh, namely, on Christmas-day. Every other day they feed on potatoes, and nothing but potatoes. Now this is inhuman; for the appetite and stomach of man claim variety in food, and nowhere else do we find human beings gnawing, from year's end to year's end, at the same root, berry, or weed. There are animals who do so, but human beings nowhere, except in Ireland.

"There are nations of slaves, but they have, by long custom, been made unconscious of the yoke of slavery. This is not the case with the Irish, who have a strong feeling of liberty within them, and are fully sensible of the weight of the yoke they have to bear. They are intelligent enough to know the injustice done them by the distorted laws of their country: and while they are themselves enduring the extreme of poverty, they have frequently before them, in the manner of life of their English landlords, a spectacle of the most refined luxury that human ingenuity ever invented.

"What awakens the most painful feelings in travelling through one of these rocky, boggy districts, rich in nothing but ruins, is this:—Whether you look back into the past, or forward to the future, no prospect more cheering presents itself. There is not the least trace left to show that the country has ever been better cultivated, or that a happier race ever dwelt in it. It seems as if wretchedness had prevailed there from time immemorial—as if rags had succeeded rags, bog had formed over bog, ruins had given birth to ruins, and beggars had begotten beggars, for a long series of centuries. Nor does the future present a more cheering view. Even for the poor Greeks under Turkish domination, there was more hope than for the Irish under the English."

taken to prove that there has prevailed, either the most culpable ignorance and heartless indifference to the strength and welfare of the empire at large; or a sad and very discreditable want of foresight, wisdom, and liberality, amongst the various statesmen who for many years past have been permitted to hold the destinies of the three kingdoms in their hands. Who can wonder that discontent, insubordination, and even crime, should predominate, where misery—the unvarying lot of the multitude—has always been compressed into the most rigid forms of intense suffering? Who will doubt that the improvement of a country thus deeply wretched, must, if it is to be permanent, spring from the very lowest foundations of the social system? We must begin at the bottom and work upwards. If the essential evil be not first of all corrected —if the 2,385,000 paupers, crowded into their 1,024,527 huts, with 5,000,000 acres* of reclaimable waste land around them, be not promptly dealt with—if the craving wants of this great mass be not appeased, if food and raiment be not brought within the reach of the famished tillers of the soil, their half-clad wives, and naked children—it is utterly vain to hope that any other labour, however noble and extensive in its plan, and however strenuous and honourable the efforts made to carry it out, can, by possibility, be sound in its origin, successful in its prosecution, or suffice to regenerate this desolate and discomfited nation?

The value of the cultivated land in Ireland, excepting pasture fields in the immediate neighbourhood of the better sort of towns and con acre lettings, varies from 10*s.* to £2 10*s.* an acre per annum. The rent of town fields and of fields set in con acre, rises from £3 to £6, £8, and even £10 an acre per annum. Of the first named land, pasturage bears the highest rent. The most productive arable land in the best situations is eagerly taken at £1 10*s.* and £1 15*s.* an acre per annum. Upon the whole, these rents do not appear to be considered excessive—that is, they are not higher than the ground, pro-

* This is the common estimate of the quantity of land now waste but held to be reclaimable.

perly cultivated, would enable an industrious tenant to pay, if duly assisted by capital, and the protection of a fair tenure. In the generality of cases, however, there is neither adequate capital, nor a fair tenure: in some the capital exists, but the sharp and precarious conditions of the tenure operate strongly against its application. If both capital and a fair tenure were to be happily conjoined, there are few persons well acquainted with the country and the people, who would not be sanguine in their expectations of a considerable increase in the produce and consequent value of the land in Ireland.

Mr. Wakefield, in 1812, estimated the rental of Ireland at £17,000,000. (Vol. ii. p. 835.) In the evidence given in 1830 before the Commons Committee of Inquiry on the State of the Poor in Ireland, we find one witness of opinion that the rental was then £12,000,000, and another that it was £15,000,000. The valuation of the Poor Law Commissioners, completed, but not yet presented to Parliament, is understood to stand at between £13,000,000 and £14,000,000. In the latter case, the prescribed standard of calculation, and a number of deductions not unreasonably allowed under the circumstances, give a smaller amount than the real sum of the total rental. If, however, we add the applicable data of the Census Commissioners, by way of further illustration, we shall bring together probably the fullest and most minute materials it is possible to obtain for a calculation of the true rental of all property in land in Ireland. It appears (Census Report, pp. 454, 455) that the live stock upon the land, as to description, number, and value, stands thus:—

552,569	Horses and Mules, at £8	each	. .	£4,420,552
1,840,025	Cattle . .	— £6 10*s.*	ditto . .	11,960,158
2,091,199	Sheep . .	— £1 2*s.*	ditto . .	2,300,317
1,353,101	Pigs . .	— £1 5*s.*	ditto . .	1,691,373
8,334,427	Poultry . .	— 6*d.*	ditto . .	208,353
90,315	Asses . .	— £1	ditto . .	90,315
	Total value of live stock . . .			£20,671,068

As such property forms a principal material in the computation of rent; and as the land must always be held to pre-

sent an amount of property corresponding with the value of this stock; it has been quoted here as an incidental test that our estimate of the annual rental of the whole country is not excessive in the following detail:—

	£
13,464,300 acres, from 10*s.* to £2 10*s.* per acre . .	20,196,450
Say 100 acres of field-land, surrounding 300 towns at from £3 to £8 a year per acre	135,000
Sites of towns, at £25 per acre, in round numbers .	1,063,225
	£21,394,675

There are English agriculturists who assert that the quantity and value of the produce of the soil in Ireland is to be doubled by an improved system of cultivation. Without taking that opinion into the account, it seems but fair to contend, after all the evidence adduced and the experiments tried during the last thirty years, that at least 5,000,000 acres of waste land are reclaimable upon the cheap terms of devoting to them the labour of the unemployed pauper population. By this easy process, the course of a few years would suffice to add £5,000,000 a year to the present rental of £21,394,675.

The other fountains of national wealth in Ireland are few, and, comparatively speaking, insignificant. The country abounds in mines, and mining operations of late years have been prosecuted upon an enlarged scale, with considerable success and fair profit. Four thousand tons of Irish copper appear to have been sold in a month last year at Swansea, and to have produced £30,000. The quantity of coal raised —it is principally anthracite—is on the increase both in the North and South, and it is now preferred to turf by the cottiers who can afford to use it. Still, neither the money embarked nor the money made by mining pursuit is considerable. In those great departments of productive industry, public works and public companies, much has been projected, and but little attempted. Of that little, moreover, only a small fractional part has proved lucrative. The mischievous interference of successive administrations, as will be shown in detail in a subsequent chapter, is chiefly to be blamed

for this serious misfortune. Four or five Joint-stock Banks, two or three Steam-boat, and one or two Mining Companies, are the only bodies of this description by which a good return has been realised upon the capital invested in them. The total number* of Joint-stock Companies is 32; the amount of their united paid up capitals, £9,327,730; and the total annual dividends thereupon £508,105 8*s*.

We cannot now, as we formerly could, produce with all desirable fulness and accuracy accounts illustrative of the income and expenditure of Ireland, the condition of the country, and the progress made in developing its resources. By the consolidation, not only of the national debts of Great Britain and Ireland, in the year 1816; but subsequently of their public Exchequers, Boards of Customs, Excise, and other great departments of financial government, an end was put to a number of separate offices and establishments, and in their stead was formed a general system of books and returns for the empire at large. It is thus no longer an easy task to show the extent of the operations carried on in a portion of the whole. Owing to the difficulties thus standing in our way, and our inability to present here, in an abridged shape, and upon unquestionable authority, the information it would be proper, if possible, to give, it will be necessary to place together a more numerous collection of extracts from official papers than under different circumstances would be called for.

Committees of the House of Commons sat and published Reports in the years 1811, 1812, and 1813 upon the Income and Expenditure of Ireland. The following accounts from the last of these will supply the more important details.

* They consist of 10 Banking, 3 Canal, 6 Navigation, 4 Railway, 2 Insurance, 3 Mining, 3 Steam-boat, and 1 Steam-ship Building Company.

The Amount of PAYMENTS made by GREAT BRITAIN, on account of the Joint Charge of the United Kingdom; and also, the Expense of managing and collecting the Revenue of Great Britain;—in Twelve Years, ended 5th January, 1813.

YEARS, ended 5th Jan.	PAYMENTS. (British Currency.) £	s.	d.	MANAGEMENT. (British Currency.) £	s.	d.	TOTALS. (British Currency.) £	s.	d.
1802 . .	25,219,180	3	10¼	2,025,469	1	0¾	27,244,649	4	11
1803 . .	25,244,817	10	1¾	1,982,079	5	10¾	27,226,896	16	0½
1804 . .	23,138,895	10	7¾	1,955,368	2	11	25,094,263	13	6¾
1805 . .	34,326,193	18	6¾	2,135,176	15	9¾	36,461,370	14	4½
1806 . .	40,132,074	7	8½	2,257,185	19	2	42,389,260	6	10½
1807 . .	39,235,680	13	1	2,375,828	17	3	41,611,509	10	4
1808 . .	39,412,204	16	0½	2,699,048	1	7	42,111,252	17	7½
1809 . .	44,960,651	14	4	2,816,568	12	11¼	47,777,220	7	3¼
1810 . .	46,895,645	6	4¼	2,886,201	0	5	49,781,846	6	9¼
1811 . .	48,654,598	16	10¼	2,934,876	0	9¾	51,589,474	17	8
1812 . .	54,053,354	3	5½	3,096,581	16	4	57,149,935	19	9½
1813 . .	58,719,010	17	1¼	3,273,242	0	0	61,992,252	17	1¼
Totals . £	479,992,307	18	1¾	30,437,625	14	2¼	510,429,933	12	4

The Amount of PAYMENTS made by IRELAND, on account of the Joint Charge of the United Kingdom; and also, of the Expense of managing and collecting the Revenue of Ireland;—in Twelve Years, ended 5th January, 1813.

YEARS, ended 5th Jan.	PAYMENTS. (British Currency.) £	s.	d.	MANAGEMENT. (British Currency.) £	s.	d.	TOTALS. (British Currency.) £	s.	d.
1802 . .	3,897,899	2	9¾	351,258	3	9¾	4,249,157	6	7½
1803 . .	3,156,225	12	8	379,426	5	0½	3,535,651	17	8½
1804 . .	3,769,369	0	6¼	406,764	14	3¼	4,176,133	14	9½
1805 . .	4,946,194	8	7½	414,549	3	10	5,360,743	12	5½
1806 . .	4,609,916	13	0¾	409,154	2	6½	5,019,070	15	7¼
1807 . .	4,524,067	8	8¾	420,602	18	4¾	4,944,670	7	1½
1808 . .	4,656,391	14	0	487,997	1	7	5,144,388	15	7
1809 . .	5,034,294	18	1	596,946	10	4¼	5,631,241	8	5¾
1810 . .	4,991,385	13	11	727,671	4	0¼	5,719,056	17	11¼
1811 . .	4,514,098	15	0¼	810,006	12	9½	5,324,105	7	9¾
1812 . .	4,766,492	16	2	828,990	10	5	5,595,483	6	7
1813 . .	4,479,984	18	4¾	826,232	13	4	5,306,217	11	8¾
Totals . £	53,346,321	2	0	6,659,600	0	4¾	60,005,921	2	4¾

GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE FOREGOING ACCOUNTS.

(In British Currency).

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Payments made by Great Britain in twelve years, ended the 5th January 1813				479,992,307	18	1¾
Management in said period				30,437,625	14	2¼
				£510,429,933	12	4
From which, deduct; viz.						
Repayments made to the British Exchequer, on account of Monies imprested or paid in advance, or on account, in eleven years; from 1st January 1801, to 5th January 1812	864,055	9	9¾			
Ditto, in the year ended 5th January 1813	66,253	11	4			
				930,309	1	1¾
						509,499,624 11 2¼
Payments made by Ireland, in twelve years, ended 5th January 1813				53,346,321	2	0
Management in said period				6,659,600	0	4¾
						60,005,921 2 4¾
Joint Charge						£569,505,545 13 7
Great Britain's Proportion of Contribution						502,504,893 4 11
Ireland's Proportion						67,000,652 8 8
Contribution						£569,505,545 13 7
Expenditure by Great Britain						509,499,624 11 2¼
Deduct her Proportion of Contribution						502,504,893 4 11
Overpaid by Great Britain						£6,994,731 6 3¼

Ireland's Proportion of Contribution			67,000,652 8 8
Expenditure by Ireland (deducted)			60,005,921 2 4¾
	Underpaid by Ireland		£6,994,731 6 3¼
From this is to be deducted the following Payments made by Ireland:			
In the year 1810	£1,270,000 0 0		
,, 1811	1,465,000 0 0		
,, 1812	1,656,276 0 0		
		4,391,276 0 0	
Which leaves the Balance due by Ireland, 5th January 1813		£2,603,455 6 3¼	

PAYMENTS made by IRELAND, in 1812, on the Joint Account of Great Britain and Ireland.

	£	s.	d.
No. 1.—Payments out of the Consolidated Fund, for Civil List, Pensions, and other permanent Charges	474,300	17	8¼
No. 2.—Payments in anticipation of Exchequer Receipts	151,742	13	11¾
No. 3.—Payments for Ordnance Services	514,547	0	11
No. 4.—Payments for Army Services	3,208,845	17	2½
No. 5.—Payments for Miscellaneous Services	503,880	10	1½
	4,853,316	19	11
Expenses of managing and collecting the Revenue of Ireland, in the year ended the 5th January 1813	895,085	7	9¼
Irish Currency £	5,748,402	7	8¼
British Currency £	5,306,217	11	8¾

PAYMENTS made in GREAT BRITAIN, in 1812, on the Joint Account of Great Britain and Ireland.

	£	s.	d.
No. 1.—Payments out of the Consolidated Fund	1,600,216	19	8
No. 2.—Civil Government of Scotland	112,748	2	7
No. 3.—Payments in anticipation of Exchequer Receipts	582,675	8	8¾
No. 4.—Payments for Naval Services	20,500,339	7	0
No. 5.—Payments for Ordnance Services	4,252,208	5	3
No. 6.—Payments for Army Services	24,907,286	15	11¼
No. 7.—Subsidies, &c.	5,315,528	3	7¾
No. 8.—Payments for Miscellaneous Services	1,448,007	14	3½
	58,719,010	17	1¼
No. 9.—Expenses of managing and collecting the Revenue	3,273,242	0	0
	£61,992,252	17	1¼

ABSTRACT of the ORDINARY REVENUES of IRELAND, in each Year, from 25th March, 1799, to 5th January, 1813.

(In Irish Currrency.)

——	Gross Receipt within the Year.	Payments out of the Gross Revenue.	Net Produce applicable to National Objects, and to Payments into the Exchequer.	Total Payments out of Net Produce.	Payments into the Exchequer on Account of the Revenues of the Year, and Outstanding Balances.
	£	£	£	£	£
Year ended 25th March 1800 . .	3,445,718	549,299	2,896,419	111,936	2,805,536
3 Quarters to 1st Jan. 1801 . .	2,302,931	359,061	1,943,869	81,348	1,832,968
Year ended 5th Jan. 1802 . .	3,020,037	617,551	2,402,485	104,695	2,393,009
—— 1803 . .	4,220,125	705,597	3,514,527	124,653	3,314,293
—— 1804 . .	3,715,710	681,842	3,033,868	139,553	2,789,170
—— 1805 . .	4,122,711	769,746	3,352,963	118,585	3,267,691
—— 1806 . .	4,193,915	664,500	3,529,415	147,851	3,364,136
—— 1807 . .	4,663,397	633,487	4,029,910	179,132	3,846,881
—— 1808 . .	5,551,669	865,878	4,685,790	150,416	4,417,990
—— 1809 . .	5,549,191	922,041	4,627,149	218,669	4,571,405
—— 1810 . .	5,416,715	923,593	4,493,122	244,341	4,280,604
—— 1811 . .	5,130,610	1,200,675	3,929,934	367,613	3,614,135
—— 1812 . .	5,647,343	1,127,922	4,519,420	231,941	4,171,240
—— 1813 . .	6,194,344	1,087,330	5,107,014	225,861	4,900,881

TRADE.

—	Official Value of Imports.	Official Value of Exports.		
		Native Produce.	Foreign Goods.	General Total of Exports.
	£	£	£	£
Average of 3 years, ending Jan. 5, 1812 . .	7,089,246	5,571,589	404,939	5,976,528
The year ending Jan. 5, 1812 . . .	7,231,603	5,833,996	256,415	6,090,411
The year ending Jan. 5, 1813 . . .	8,820,359	6,463,744	404,424	6,868,168

The real Value of Irish Produce and Manufactures Exported, was,

	£
Average of the 3 years, ending Jan. 5, 1812 . .	11,270,844
Year ending Jan. 5, 1812	11,567,219
Year ending Jan. 5, 1813	13,809,951

In the year 1830 sat the Commons Committee on the State of the Poor in Ireland, Mr. Spring Rice, now Lord Monteagle, in the chair. Many sets of account used by the Committee of 1813 had by this time ceased to appear; but by calling for special Returns, Mr. Rice was enabled to present a variety of Tables of the Public Income and Expenditure of Ireland, from 1792 to 1830. We shall give those for the years ending Jan. 5, 1828, 1829, and 1830, first quoting an estimate of Exports and Imports.

Years.	Exports to Great Britain.	Imports from all Parts.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1801	3,270,350 12 0	4,621,344 16 6
1809	5,316,557 5 1	6,896,821 18 10
1813	6,746,353 12 10	7,797,286 11 0
1817	4,722,766 0 3	5,646,563 3 9
1821	5,338,838 4 6	6,407,427 15 9
1825	7,048,936 5 6	8,596,785 8 11

An Account showing the Net Public Income and Expenditure of Ireland, Ways and Means provided, within the same Period, by the

Income.—Years ended 5th Jan.	1828.					
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Monies remaining in the Exchequer at the commencement of the Year . .	. . .			565,812	3	1
The Net Payments into the Exchequer of the following several Duties or Revenues; viz.						
Customs	1,502,566	2	8	. . .		
Excise	1,469,141	12	5	. . .		
Stamps	436,085	13	0	. . .		
Postage of Letters	78,000	0	0	. . .		
Poundage Fee, Pells Fees, Treasury Fees, Hospital Fee and Casualties .	9,896	8	0	. . .		
Total Ordinary Revenue . . . £	3,495,689	16	1	. . .		
Other Receipts.						
Repayment of Money advanced for Public Works or other Public Objects	172,983	17	9½	. . .		
Monies repaid by Public Accountants, and other Miscellaneous Payments .	13,667	16	5	. . .		
Total Income				3,682,341	10	3½
Total . . . . £	. . .			4,248,153	13	4½

Expenditure.—Years ended 5th Jan.	1828.					
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dividend, Interest and Management of the Public Funded Debt, payable in Ireland	1,163,222	9	7	. . .		
Civil List	207,000	0	0	. . .		
Other Payments out of the Consolidated Fund	303,199	19	0	. . .		
Total Payments out of the Consolidated Fund	1,673,422	8	7	. . .		
Payments on Account of Grants of Parliament . . . . Army . . .	1,026,826	10	9	. . .		
Ordnance . . (Paid by British Exchequer, from this time.)						
Miscellaneous	367,322	18	8	. . .		
Other Payments.						
Monies advanced out of the Consolidated Fund for Public Objects . .	437,753	19	9	. . .		
Total Expenditure . . £				3,505,325	17	9
Carried forward . £	. . .			3,505,325	17	9

in each Year, from 1828 to 1830, inclusive; and also showing the whole of the Creation of Debt, together with the Application thereof.

1829.						1830.					
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
.	.	.	544,346	16	3½	.	.	.	860,167	10	8¾
1,110,289	1	8	.	.	.	1,187,978	14	7			
2,059,309	13	9¾	.	.	.	1,790,288	14	3			
441,585	7	7	.	.	.	456,688	17	7			
108,000	0	0	.	.	.	105,000	0	0			
9,353	1	1	.	.	.	8,886	14	8½			
3,728,537	4	1¾	.	.	.	3,548,823	1	1½			
212,030	18	1¼	.	.	.	211,986	0	1			
20,864	13	7¾	.	.	.	105,786	2	2			
			3,961,432	15	10¾				3,866,595	3	4½
.	.	.	4,505,779	12	2¼	.	.	.	4,726,762	14	0¾

1829.						1830.					
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1,141,139	12	4	.	.	.	1,178,454	1	5			
207,000	0	0	.	.	.	207,000	0	0			
300,959	0	11½	.	.	.	377,968	12	5¼			
1,649,098	13	3½	.	.	.	1,763,422	13	10¼			
1,035,348	12	2	.	.	.	986,209	2	8½			
362,228	7	6¼	.	.	.	366,871	10	0½			
424,691	10	3¼	.	.	.	380,817	10	2			
			3,471,367	3	3				3,497,320	16	9¾
.	.	.	.	.	.						

EXPENDITURE.—Years ended 5th Jan.	1828.					
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward . . .				3,505,325	17	9
APPLICATION OF THE WAYS AND MEANS PROVIDED:						
Applied to the Reduction of the National Debt	.	.	.	198,480	19	4
				3,703,806	17	1
Money remaining in the Exchequer at the end of the Year	.	.	.	544,346	16	3½
Total . . £	.	.	.	4,248,153	13	4½

The next official document we shall refer to will be the last volume published—No. XI. of the Board of Trade Tables of Revenue, Population, &c.

PAYMENTS into the EXCHEQUER of BRITISH and IRISH REVENUE separately, with the Proportion which Irish Payments bore to the whole in each Year, and Quinquennial Period from Jan. 5, 1825, to Jan. 5, 1841.

YEARS.	Net Payments of ordinary Revenues into the Exchequer.		Proportion of Irish Payments to British in each Period of 5 Years.
	In Great Britain.	In Ireland.	
1825 .	£48,697,585	£3,367,805	
Total from 1821 to 1825 .	247,236,648	17,097,047	About 1-15th.
1830 .	46,374,698	3,515,297	
Do. from 1825 to 1830 .	233,456,438	17,733,971	About 1-14th.
1835 .	41,888,835	4,004,535	
Do. from 1830 to 1835 .	212,817,727	18,798,949	About 1-12th.
1840 .	43,797,682	3,553,881	
Do. from 1835 to 1840 .	217,439,618	19,495,971	About 1-12th.

An Account of GROSS RECEIPTS of REVENUE within the Year, after deducting Repayments, Allowances, Discounts, Drawbacks, and Bounties in the nature of Drawbacks, for Great Britain and Ireland, for each Year, from Jan. 5, 1821, to Jan. 5, 1841; and a Statement of the Proportion that Irish Payments bore to the whole, calculated in Periods of Five Years each.

YEARS.	Gross Payments of ordinary Revenues into the Exchequer.		Proportion of Irish Payments to British in each Period of 5 Years.
	In Great Britain.	In Ireland.	
1825 .	£52,829,274	£4,455,697	
Total from 1821 to 1825 .	270,038,808	22,538,093	About 1-13th.
1830 .	54,844,096	4,298,155	
Do. from 1825 to 1830 .	270,607,111	22,298,321	About 1-13th.
1835 .	47,948,282	4,641,711	
Do. from 1831 to 1835 .	244,074,356	22,096,998	About 1-12th.
1840 .	47,402,223	4,102,285	
Do. from 1836 to 1840 .	242,422,560	22,668,098	About 1-12th.

1829.						1830.					
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
			3,471,367	3	3				3,497,320	16	9¾
.	.	.	174,244	18	3	.	.	.	125,049	9	3
.	.	.	3,645,612	1	6				3,622,370	6	0¼
.	.	.	860,167	10	8¼	.	.	.	1,104,392	8	0½
.	.	.	4,505,779	12	2¼	.	.	.	4,726,762	14	0¾

The Board of Trade give no accounts explanatory of the Expenditure of Ireland. We proceed, therefore, to

An Account of the VALUE of all IMPORTS into, and of all EXPORTS from IRELAND, calculated according to the Official Rates of Valuation; distinguishing the Value of the Produce and Manufactures of Ireland from the Value of Foreign and Colonial Merchandize exported; also stating the Value of the Produce and Manufactures of Ireland exported, according to the real or declared Value thereof, during the Year 1841; and comparing the same with the Year 1840.

Value of Imports into Ireland, calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.		Produce and Manufactures of Ireland.		Foreign and Colonial Merchandize.		Total Exports.		Value of the Produce and Manufactures of Ireland exported, according to the real or declared Value.	
1840	1841	1840	1841	1840	1841	1840	1841	1840	1841
£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1,559,553	1,693,375	441,860	399,764	8,688	8,516	450,548	408,280	509,874	416,965

As this is the only Table of the Exports and Imports of Ireland published by the Board of Trade, and as the heavy items of agricultural produce, such as corn, live stock, and cured provisions shipped to England, are not here taken into account, we are driven to find other sources for an estimate of the amount of the property thus realised. The Commons Committee of 1830, as already stated, valued the Irish exports to Great Britain in the year 1825 at £7,048,936. The Irish Railway Commissioners raised that estimate to £9,243,210; and made the aggregate value of the Irish exports for the year 1835, £16,693,685. The different commodities and their quantities, tonnage, and value are set forth in the Appendix to their Report B. p. 91. As specimens we shall cite—

Live Stock £1,953,115
Wheat, Barley, Oats, Flour, &c. . . . 4,202,265
Bacon, Beef, Butter, &c. . . . 5,050,412

The sum of £16,693,685 may appear large, as the value of Irish exports to Great Britain, but it will not diminish upon a close inquiry. Fluctuations no doubt will be found to occur. One year the live stock shipped will be more and the cured provisions less, and so it may prove upon examination with the articles of corn and meal. But upon the whole, looking at the specific calculation made by the Railway Commissioners, noting the details produced from time to time, as curiosities in other quarters,—as, for instance, the number of cattle carried by the Bristol and Liverpool steam-boats; and, above all, testing the items in the Railway Reports by those of a like nature returned in the Tables of the Board of Trade,—we are by no means disposed to represent the present annual value of the Irish exports to England at lower figures than those already given.

Neither the Annual Finance Accounts, nor the Tables laid before Parliament, give the Expenditure of Ireland, year by year. In 1833, Mr. Finn, then member for Kilkenny County, obtained a Return of

The Total Expenditure of Ireland, including Debt, Army, Pensions, Civil List, Miscellaneous Estimates, and all Disbursements payable out of the Public Revenue.

The Expenditure for the Year ended 5th January, 1833, viz.:	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
The Payment for Interest and Management of the Permanent Debt .	1,165,237	8	4			
Terminable Annuities	70	18	7			
				1,165,308	6	11
Other permanent Charges on the Consolidated Fund, exclusive of Advances for Public Works . . .	.	.	.	326,152	10	6¼
Army	.	.	.	1,051,770	10	9
Miscellaneous Services	.	.	.	367,576	15	7¾
Total Expenditure for the Year £	.	.	.	2,910,808	3	10

Similar Returns, moved for by Mr. J. O'Connell, member for Kilkenny City, make the total Expenditure for the year ending Jan. 5, 1842, £3,151,123; for 1843, £3,212,698 and for 1844, £3,184,695.

To carry the details to the latest point, we have to add, from the Finance Accounts for the year ending Jan. 5, 1843, the Public Income of Ireland for that year.

This event has been made significant and memorable by Meagher's celebrated speech upon "The Sword." Wm. Smith O'Brien, John Mitchel, Thomas Devin Reilly, and Thomas Francis Meagher left the Association on this day, the 29th of July, 1846, never to enter it again.

The summer intervenes. Conciliation Hall holds its meetings in due course. Young Ireland is dispersed through the country.—The *Nation* speaks audibly and forcibly in its weekly issues from Dublin. But Smith O'Brien is in Limerick. Richard O'Gorman is boating on the Shannon. Michael Joseph Barry is on the "pleasant waters of the river Lee." Thomas Francis Meagher is climbing the cliffs along Newtown Head, or trawling for mackerel from the "Ladies' Cove" to Dunmore Light.

It is a pleasant summer with these gay and young and gallant patriots. But a storm is gathering in the distance. The summer will soon be clouded. A pestilence has touched the green fields, in which the children, and the fathers, and the mothers of the Green Sod have cast their humble seed of hope. There is a second plague. The blight has come again!

(Part II. next week.)

nced of the fact—that all the sufferings hich our country has endured, all the misery hich has fallen to her lot, deluging the land ke a lava-tide, are primarily attributable to at curse of all lands, that curse of mankind, the union of religion with politics," as degrading to religion as it is destructive to human happiness (loud applause).

War with that principle, destructive in its influence and all its bearings as a dread torado. War with its advocates and adherents. he war will be just. The cause a holy one. ou benefit religion, while you serve humany (continued applause). If the minister of ligion be true to his divine mission, as a acher of God's truth, he will never degrade ligion by introducing it in connexion with olitics, or by exercising that influence of hich—through his profession—he is possessed, for the furtherance of any political urpose (hear, hear). For that influence is divine one, bequeathed to him as a sacred rust not to be abused, and assuredly not for olitical capital (cheers). But when he outtrips his true province so far as to abuse that rust—when he transforms the pulpit into a ustings for electioneering or other such rposes—when he becomes the politician in is ministerial capacity, he divests himself of

An Account of the ORDINARY REVENUES and EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES constituting the PUBLIC INCOME of IRELAND, for the Year ending 5th January, 1843.

HEADS OF REVENUE.	Net Receipt within the Year, after deducting Repayments, &c.	Total Income, including Balances.	Total Payments out of the Income, in its Progress to Exchequer.	Payments into the Exchequer.	Rate per Centum for which the Gross Receipt was collected.
Ordinary Revenues:	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Customs	2,210,615 9 3	2,264,749 5 5	238,425 6 3	1,949,834 4 3	9 18 4
Excise	1,295,342 19 4½	1,359,617 6 5	185,825 19 8½	1,110,342 6 7	12 16 9½
Stamps	514,485 0 3	526,811 1 10	21,854 18 9½	491,851 8 1	4 2 3½
Post Office	128,984 3 4½	197,878 5 8¾	127,856 8 7¼	3,000 0 0	96 10 11¼
Surplus Fees of Regulated Public Offices	5,248 4 5	5,248 4 5		5,248 4 5	0 0 0
Totals of Ordinary Revenues £	4,154,675 16 8	4,354,304 3 9¾	573,962 13 4¼	3,560,276 3 4	12 16 3¼
Other Resources:					
Imprest Monies repaid by sundry Public Accountants, and other Monies paid to the Public	2,216 2 0	2,216 2 0	0 0 0	2,216 2 0	0 0 0
Totals of the Public Income of Ireland, exclusive of Money raised by Creation of Stock	4,156,891 18 8	4,356,520 5 9¾	573,962 13 4¼	3,562,492 5 4	0 0 0
Money paid into the Exchequer in part of £2,467,432, per Act 5 Victoria, c. 8, arising from the Funding of Exchequer Bills and Sale of Stock	100,000 0 0	100,000 0 0	0 0 0	100,000 0 0	0 0 0
Totals, including Money raised by creation of Stock	4,256,891 18 8	4,456,520 5 9¾	573,962 13 4¼	3,662,492 5 4	0 0 0

As it would be superfluous to enlarge upon the importance of these various Tables, spreading over a long series of years, and condensing a multiplicity of matter, so ought it to be unnecessary to offer an apology for the length to which they have been extended here. They are inserted in their original forms, in order that no room should be left open for doubts of their authenticity. To the Irish reader they will prove, it is to be hoped, peculiarly valuable. Disputes and discussions have occurred at public meetings, in the periodical press, and in numerous pamphlets, of late years, in Ireland, upon questions of national taxation, revenue and expenditure, which impose upon every person who offers an observation upon any of them the indispensable duty of being frank in his mode of dealing with them, and liberal in his supply of evidence to illustrate the general subject. For, unquestionably, much has been addressed to the public for that purpose, in which neither full information nor mature judgment happen to be conspicuous. For instance, Mr. Finn's Return is frequently referred to for the purpose of proving two things which cannot possibly be established by any such paper; first, that the total cost of the government in Ireland, including all disbursements for public purposes, is, from year to year, more or less, about such a sum as £2,910,808; and secondly, that the difference between that sum and the income of the revenue for any year, is a drain from the Irish to the English Exchequer.

It will be easy to show that any use made of Mr. Finn's Return for the purpose of establishing either of these propositions must lead to serious errors. Now popular errors upon such points cannot be too gravely deprecated,—because they serve to divert the community from enforcing their real grievances upon the authorities, or lead them at least to mingle with their complaints untenable assertions, which are sure to be quickly caught up by their adversaries in debate and controversy, and are then triumphantly exposed as samples of the unreasonable and unsubstantial nature of the case altogether.

The Return of 1833 does not contain the total disburse-

ments for the public service, because it does not include the monies expended for any of the great departments of Customs, Excise, Stamps, or Post-office. How large an amount of public money spent in Ireland is thus excluded, may be estimated in round numbers by the difference between the gross and the net produce of the four heads of taxation just named.

They stand in the Finance Accounts of Jan. 5, 1843, as follows:—

REVENUE of CUSTOMS in IRELAND, in the Year ended 5th January, 1843.

INCOME.						
				£	s.	d.
Balances in the hands of Collectors on 5th January, 1842				32,513	17	7
Bills outstanding on 5th Jan. 1842				21,619	18	7
Total Balances and Bills outstanding on 5th Jan. 1842						
Gross Receipt within the Year				2,221,494	9	9
	£	s.	d.			
Drawbacks on Goods exported	8,913	10	4			
Bounties of the nature of Drawbacks	13	2	2			
	8,926	12	6			
Repayments on Over-Entries, Damaged Goods, &c.	1,952	8	0			
Total Drawbacks, Repayments, &c.				10,879	0	6
Net Receipt within the Year, after deducting Repayments, &c.						
Total Income, including Balances						

£	s.	d.
54,133	16	2
2,210,615	9	3
2,264,749	5	5

REVENUE of CUSTOMS in IRELAND, in the Year ended 5th January, 1843. (*Continued.*)

DISCHARGE OF INCOME.						
				£	s.	d.
Charges of Collection				220,291	16	7
Other Payments				18,133	9	8
Total Payments out of the Income in its progress to the Exchequer				238,425	6	3
Payments into the Exchequer				1,949,834	4	3
	£	s.	d.			
Balances in the hands of Collectors on 5th January, 1843	30,669	18	1			
Bills outstanding on 5th Jan. 1843	45,819	16	10			
Total Balances and Bills outstanding on 5th Jan. 1843				76,489	14	11
Total Discharge of the Income			£	2,264,749	5	5

REVENUE of EXCISE in IRELAND, in the Year ended 5th January, 1843.

INCOME.								
				£	s.	d.	£	s. d.
Balances in the hands of the several Collectors on 5th January, 1842				30,125	6	6		
Bills outstanding on 5th January, 1842				34,149	0	6½		
Total Balances and Bills outstanding on 5th January, 1842							64,274	7 0½
Gross Receipt				1,298,381	14	7		
	£	s.	d.					
Drawbacks on Goods exported	1,459	13	1¼					
Bounties of the nature of Drawbacks	—							
Allowances	1,214	17	4					
Repayments on Overcharges	364	4	9¼					
Total Repayments, Drawbacks, &c.				3,038	15	2½		
Net Receipt within the Year, after deducting Repayments, &c.							1,295,342	19 4½
Total Income, including Balances			£				1,359,617	6 5

REVENUE of EXCISE in IRELAND, in the Year ended 5th January, 1843. (*Continued.*)

DISPOSAL OF THE INCOME.						
				£	s.	d.
Charges of Collection				166,703	9	3¼
Other Payments				19,122	10	5¼
Total Payments out of the Income, in its progress to the Exchequer				185,825	19	8½
Payments into the Exchequer				1,110,342	6	7
	£	s.	d.			
Balances in the hands of the several Collectors on 5th January, 1843	29,542	18	3¼			
Bills outstanding on 5th January, 1843	33,906	1	10¼			
Total Balances and Bills outstanding on 5th January, 1843				63,449	0	1½
Total Discharge of the Income			£	1,359,617	6	5

REVENUE of STAMPS in IRELAND, in the Year ended 5th January, 1843.

INCOME.						
				£	s.	d.
Balances in the hands of the several Distributors on the 6th Jan. 1842				1,122	11	11¾
Balances from late Distributors, &c.				9,418	10	9¼
Balances of Imprest Money on the 6th January, 1842				400	0	0
Bills outstanding on the 6th January, 1842				1,384	18	10
Total Balances and Bills outstanding on 6th January, 1842						12,326 1 7
Gross Receipt				526,336	10	2¾
Add Monies received from the Bank of Ireland in lieu of Stamp Duties				4,718	17	0
Total of Gross Receipt			£	531,055	7	2¾
	£	s.	d.			
Discounts and Parliamentary Allowances	11,134	9	1¾			
Drawbacks and Repayments	4,792	0	0			
Paper, Parchment, and Blanks to stamp on	643	17	10			
Total Discounts, &c.				16,570	6	11¾
Net Receipt within the Year, after deducting Discounts, &c.						514,485 0 3
Total Income, including Balances			£			526,811 1 10

REVENUE of STAMPS in IRELAND, in the Year ended 5th January, 1843. (*Continued.*)

DISPOSAL OF THE INCOME.						
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Charges of Collection . . .	21,854	18	9½			
Total Payments out of the Income in its progress to the Exchequer				21,854	18	9½
	£	s.	d.			
Payments into the Exchequer . .	487,132	11	1			
Add Monies paid into the Exchequer by the Bank of Ireland, in lieu of Stamp Duties . .	4,718	17	0			
Total Payments into the Exchequer . .				491,851	8	1
Balances in the hands of the several Distributors on the 5th January, 1843	1,189	13	2¼			
Balances due from late Distributors, &c.	9,789	3	7¼			
Balances of Imprest Money on the 5th January, 1843 . . .	—					
Bills outstanding on the 5th January, 1843	2,125	18	2			
Total Balances and Bills outstanding on 5th January, 1843 . . .				13,104	14	11½
Total Discharge of the Income . . .				£526,811	1	10

REVENUE of the POST-OFFICE of IRELAND, in the Year ended 5th Jan. 1843.

INCOME.						
	£	s.	d	£	s.	d.
To Balance due 5th of Jan. 1842; viz.:						
Balance in Bank	25,861	13	9			
Balances in hands of Deputy Postmasters and Letter Receivers of Dublin	10,790	4	4¾			
Balances due by deceased and dismissed Deputies and Letter Carriers .	1,183	19	5½			
Insolvent Arrears	29,236	12	3¾			
Balances due by the several Public Offices	1,132	6	2			
Postage Stamps in the hands of the Receiver-General	689	6	3¼			
				68,894	2	4¼
To Amount of Gross Receipt . .	132,429	14	1½			
Re-directed, Returned, Dead, Unknown, Refused, and Overcharged Letters, &c.	3,445	10	9			
Net Receipt within the Year, after deducting Repayments, &c.				128,984	3	4½
Total Income, including Balances .				£197,878	5	8¾

REVENUE of the POST-OFFICE of IRELAND, in the Year ended 5th Jan. 1843. (*Continued.*)

DISPOSAL OF THE INCOME.				
Charges of Collection				£127,856 8 7¼
Total Payments out of the Income, in its progress to the Exchequer				127,856 8 7¼
Payments into the Exchequer				3,000 0 0
Balance due on 5th of Jan. 1843; viz.:	£	s.	d.	
Balance in Bank	23,436	9	10	
Balance in hands of Deputy Postmasters and Letter Receivers of Dublin	10,590	15	3	
Balances due by deceased and dismissed Deputies and Letter Carriers .	954	14	0½	
Insolvent Arrears	29,236	12	3¾	
Balances due by the several Public Offices	2,133	4	9	
Postage Stamps in the hands of the Receiver-General	670	0	11¼	
Total Balances Outstanding . .				67,021 17 1½
Total Discharge of the Income . .				£197,878 5 8¾

In these four departments we find a sum of £220,291 for Customs, £127,856 for the Post-office, £166,703 for Excise, and £21,854 for Stamps, or £537,704 a year disbursements for public purposes, no item of which is comprised in the Return for 1833.

But, it may be argued, the Return deals with the net produce of the Irish revenue; and whatever that yields to the Exchequer in London, after paying the charges of the remaining establishments, should be regarded as a drain from Ireland to England. This, again, is a representation which will not bear investigation. All statements of the kind are hazarded at random, without due reflection upon the subject, or a close examination of its details. If they go to prove anything, it is this—that the extent and pressure of taxation in England, Scotland, and Ireland, should not exceed the annual amount required to defray the separate public establishments in each of these divisions of the empire. But how then would the general government of the empire at large be provided?—how would the outlay be furnished for the maintenance of that dominion, which, springing right and left from these islands, embraces the circumference of the globe?—that dominion

which has been acquired, is preserved, and will be yet extended by the genius and valour of the natives of all parts of the empire, and upon which our sailors, soldiers, statesmen, merchants and manufacturers, artisans and labourers advance in common, as upon their natural field for employment, and the acquisition of wealth and fame? Far from taking such narrow and mistaken views of this question, the Irishman is bound to assume a much higher and more legitimate position, and there fortifying himself with the irresistible argument, that as taxation is spread over the one country as well as over the other, and every man contributes to pay the expenses of the empire, so no vain distinctions or corrupt preferences should be tolerated in the distribution of offices to Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, but that each in his own country should be impartially retained to discharge those duties for which local knowledge, experience and association give the best title, while, for the general range of occupation in the great departments of the empire at large, all should be free to compete and carry off prizes as fitness and meritorious service may warrant.

Another item in this Return has likewise led to false conclusions. The amount set down as the charge of the national debt in Ireland, has been repeatedly interpreted to constitute the yearly interest which the Irish portion of the debt of the United Empire would bear, if subtracted from the greater sum total of which it forms a part. In point of fact, however, it only represents the interest due to holders of the debt, who happen to be inscribed in the books of the Bank of England as residents in Ireland during the year. The real debt of Ireland may be soon calculated. The Act of Union which came into operation January, 1801, provided, by the seventh article, that the charges for all debts incurred by either kingdom before the Union, should be separately defrayed; that for a term of twenty years the contributions of Great Britain and Ireland respectively, towards the expenditure of the United Kingdom, should be as fifteen to two; and that all monies raised after the Union should be a joint debt, the charges of which should be borne by the respective countries in the proportions

of their respective contributions towards expenditure. By the Commons Return (35) 1819—20, p. 6, we find that the total Funded Debt of Ireland, January 5 and February 1, 1801, was £27,792,975; and, p. 3, that the total Funded Debt of Great Britain at the same date, was £488,205,923.

Jan 5, 1843, the Funded debt of the United Empire was	£774,859,379
There has accrued, therefore, since the Union .	286,653,456
Two-seventeenths of this will be . . .	33,723,936
To which add Irish debt at the Union . .	27,792,975
Total Irish proportion	61,516,911
On which the yearly interest would be . .	2,153,091

Reverting to the public expenditure in Ireland, it is to be regretted that our means of information are so incomplete. The yearly sessional Estimates, and the Finance Accounts laid before Parliament, arrange many charges in proper order, but there is a quantity of money spent for British and Irish uses jointly, which it is impossible to separate and apportion. There are also not a few large items debited to Ireland, as to which it is difficult to say whether the amounts placed opposite to them are local outlay or not. Taking the last set of these documents, however, as we find them, and carefully extracting from each the sums paid and voted on account of Irish offices and expenditure, the following will be as fair a list as perhaps can be made out of the amount and uses of the public money annually applied by the Legislature to Ireland. Even here, however, some degree of confusion and repetition is unavoidable, as the Finance Accounts give the amounts paid in one year, and the Estimates those wanted for the next. Exceptis Excipiendis, then, and omitting the National Debt and Revenue charges, we have for 1843:—

The Army and Navy as hereafter estimated . .	£910,941	0	11¼
The Lord Lieutenant's Salary and Allowances, heretofore paid out of the Civil List . . .	22,091	17	1
Courts of Justice and Police	495,661	19	9
Record Branch of Civil Services . . .	1,000	0	0
Inspectors of the Schools of Anatomy . .	470	0	0
Salaries and Incidents—Board of Public Works .	6,600	0	0
Allowances under Act 41 Geo. III. Cap. 32 . .	1,553	19	0
Weighmasters of Butter	4,907	8	0
Late Treasury Officers	271	11	4
Carried forward .	£1,443,497	16	1¼

Brought forward	£1,443,497	16	1¼
Secretary to Board of Education, and the Contingencies of the Board	606	10	2
Miscellaneous Services	3,968	4	8
Boundary Survey	1,644	0	0
Irish Office, Westminster	258	8	9
Maintaining and repairing Dublin Castle, the Four Courts, Phœnix Park, &c.	25,376	0	0
Works and Repairs to King's Town Harbour	10,000	0	0
The Poor Law Commission	20,385	7	6
Household of the Lord Lieutenant	6,464	17	5
Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant	21,376	0	0
Paymaster of Civil Services	4,937	0	0
The Commissioners of Public Works	2,400	0	0
Printing and Stationery for Public Offices	12,195	0	0
Criminal Prosecutions, and other Law Charges	1,449	6	6
Crown Solicitors	17,300	0	0
Prosecutions, Witnesses, &c.	42,700	0	0
Converting Smithfield Penitentiary into a Convict Depot, &c	5,596	0	0
Education, Maynooth College included	58,928	0	0
Royal Irish Academy	300	0	0
Royal Hibernian Academy	300	0	0
Royal Dublin Society	5,600	0	0
Royal Belfast Academical Institution	1,950	0	0
The Foundling Hospital, Dublin	7,597	0	0
The House of Industry, in Dublin	13,973	0	0
Westmoreland Lock Hospital	2,500	0	0
The Lying-in Hospital, Dublin	1,000	0	0
Dr. Stevens' Hospital, Dublin	1,500	0	0
The House of Recovery and Fever Hospital, Cork Street, Dublin	3,000	0	0
The Hospital for Incurables	500	0	0
Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests	700	0	0
Non-conforming, Seceding, and Protestant Dissenting Ministers	35,630	0	0
Concordatum Fund, and other Allowances and Bounties hitherto defrayed from the Grants for the Lord Lieutenant's Household	7,475	0	0
Townland Survey of Ireland	5,000	0	0
The Shannon Commissioners, per Act	3,421	0	0
General Staff Officers, and Officers of Hospitals	10,232	7	7
Ditto, Medical Staff	3,733	4	0
The Hibernian Military School	5,404	10	8
Superannuation or Retired Allowances	3,834	13	10
Kilmainham Hospital	9,376	11	6
Ordnance at Athlone, Cork Harbour, Dublin, Duncannon Fort, Enniskillen	6,528	0	0
Barrack Masters, &c.—Connaught District, Leinster District, Munster District, and Ulster District	8,805	0	0
Ordnance Works, Repairs, &c.—Connaught District, Leinster District, Munster District, and Ulster District	82,267	0	0
Carried forward	£1,899,709	18	8

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward .	1,899,709	18	8¼
Recruiting Districts—Newry, Cork, and Dublin .	7,376	3	7
Naval Dock Yards, &c.	978	10	0
Revenue Police, Ireland	41,218	12	4
General Payments out of the Public Income of Ireland in its progress to the Exchequer *other* than Charges of Collection	37,256	0	1¼
Amounts advanced by the Commissioners of Public Works (Annual Report, p. 22) . . .	71,750	0	0
Amounts expended by the Shannon Navigation Commissioners (4th Annual Report, p. 14) . .	78,964	1	3½
	£2,137,253	6	0

In noticing the establishments of Ireland, we are most struck by those raised to promote religion. Under this head the statistics are as pregnant with matter of extreme surprise as those under any other presented to the eyes of the perplexed observer. There was a census of the creeds of the whole population, made under the authority of Parliament, in 1834; and according to the Report then published, the distribution of the people into different religions ranged thus:—

Roman Catholics	6,427,712
Protestants	752,064
Presbyterians	642,356
Other Protestant Dissenters . .	121,808*

If a similar inquiry were now to be instituted, the relative proportions of the population since accrued would, in all probability, be found the same in every class, save that of other Dissenters. Data exist which seem to warrant the assertion that these last are an increasing body. If so, the Protestants have lost what they have gained, for the Roman Catholics preserve their superior majority undiminished. And here it is that perhaps the most extraordinary feature upon the mixed face of Irish affairs challenges our attention. The constitution promotes religion, and for that sacred purpose gives to this vast number of Roman Catholics £8,928 a year

* For the sake of brevity, the number of other Dissenters has here been increased by adding 100,000 Wesleyans, erroneously classed by the Education Commissioners under the head of Protestant Episcopalians.

towards the education of their priests; £35,630 a year towards the maintenance of Presbyterian ministers; and an actual revenue in gross receipts of £806,784* for the support of the Protestant clergy!

We have marked out the extent of pauperism in Ireland: it fills the heart with grief and horror, and is not to be matched in all the countries of Europe; but it is far exceeded in its enormity by the state of religion. That overwhelms the reasoning faculties with astonishment, and is not to be paralleled

* This is the sum for which Mr. Ward took credit in his speech, August 1st, 1843. The passage is as follows :—

ACTUAL REVENUE of the IRISH CHURCH in 1843.

		£
Episcopal Revenues:		
Land and Tithes	Gross	151,127
Deans and Prebends, exclusive of those attached to Episcopal Sees		34,481
Minor Canons and Vicars Choral		10,525
Parochial Benefices, Value of Glebes and Tithes, Ministers' Money, Easter Offerings, &c.:		
Province of Armagh	£256,372	
„ Tuam	42,738	
„ Dublin	121,859	
„ Cashel	189,682	
		610,651
Gross Receipts		£806,784
Tithe Composition taken separately:		
Parochial		486,785
Episcopal		9,515
Received by Dignitaries		24,360
		520,660
Deduct 25 per cent. for Rent Charge, under Act of 1838 .		130,165
Remain		390,495
Add Episcopal Revenues, after deducting £33,875 received by Bishops and Dignitaries		162,258
		£552,753

The correctness of this amount was questioned during the debate; and afterwards the Rt. Hon. F. Shaw gave notice of a motion for a series of Returns, which, if furnished, would have left no room for further controversy upon the subject; but a few days after Mr. Shaw withdrew his motion.

in the annals of the whole world. In every other nation, civilized or barbarous,—in every age, whether ancient or modern,—one universal rule has prevailed, by the common consent of all mankind, from the dawn of the first sun down to the present day, in favour of a suitable provision, and an honourable rank in society, for the religious order of the majority of the people. The sum of this provision, moreover, and the dignity of this rank, have generally risen higher the more the community has become prosperous and refined. In Ireland only this most primitive and influential of the elements of social peace and charity between man and man is contravened. There only the government neither gives money nor distinction, nor evinces consideration nor sympathy for the hierarchy and priesthood of the majority of the people. If it were the duty of a statesman to provide by special arrangement that discontent and turbulence should constantly abound in a country, no surer means could be adopted for producing so calamitous a result than the course of action pursued in Ireland upon the vital subject of religion. Touch to the quick, and the whole frame quivers. We treat a warm and sensitive people, on one of the keenest points of human feeling, as no race of men has been treated since the creation of mankind; and then we affect to wonder that they are not happy, grateful, and resigned! True, the subject matter here is religion, and that is a question of conscience; but the statesman must deal with it as a question of politics; and to him it ought to be unnecessary to observe that it is utterly vain to dream of standing out against human nature. The history of mankind, in its most primitive as well as in its most polished forms, and the experience of all governments, lead us to no conviction stronger, or more conclusive, than that it is impossible to secure the peace of any society without gratifying the religious bias of the multitude by whom it is composed. Any attempt to resist the impulse which demands this satisfaction is as wild as the effort to stop a torrent in its course. If it could have been arrested or diverted, the English government would have long ago done one or other in

Ireland. They have repeatedly tried, and invariably failed. It remains at last to supply proper channels for the waters of a tide which, as they take their rise from a natural spring, can neither be kept down, drawn off, nor exhausted by forcible means.

Wherever, as in the case before us, political events operate to prevent the ministry of religion from producing its due effect,—wherever the appointed pastor fails to gather the people around him in a flock, to conciliate their affections, and command their confidence,—other and less wholesome agents are necessarily called in to perform the duties he fails to fulfil. The military and police are then numerous and expensive. Their force in Ireland is large and increasing. In January, 1840, the number was 14,956. In December, 1843, the total rank and file of the army serving in Ireland was 21,210.* These were distributed over the five military districts of Dublin, Belfast, Athlone, Limerick, and Cork, as follows:—Dublin, 6,788; Belfast, 2,894; Athlone, 4,210; Limerick, 3,445; and Cork, 3,873: and they consisted of 81 Sappers and Miners; 1,045 Artillery; 69 Marine Artillery; 2,090 Ca-

* The RETURN of the NUMBER of TROOPS QUARTERED in IRELAND during the Years 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, and 1840, printed by the House of Commons, June 13, 1843, is a significant document. We may add that the cost of a regiment, according to the Parliamentary Estimates, is from £17,000 to £27,000 a year.

Adjutant-General's Office, 15 June, 1843.

——	Rank and File.			Total.
	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Infantry.	
1st January 1833 .	2,064	873	21,061	23,998
„ 1834 .	2,339	873	19,823	23,035
„ 1835 .	1,887	876	16,199	18,962
„ 1836 .	1,845	809	15,252	17,906
„ 1837 .	1,839	809	15,832	18,480
„ 1838 .	1,641	751	15,028	17,420
„ 1839 .	1,443	745	14,076	16,264
„ 1840 .	873	743	13,340	14,956

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valry: 17,295 Infantry, and 628 Marines. This force, it is to be observed, has been materially strengthened while this work has been in a course of preparation for the press. Almost every arm of service mentioned seems to be undergoing a course of gradual increase, which it is impossible to follow. More difficult still is the task of computing the exact annual cost of this army to the national exchequer. A careful series of computations, based upon the data furnished in the Army, Navy, and Ordnance Estimates of the last session of Parliament, have produced the results that follow.

	£	s.	d.
Artillery, Engineers, and Marines	69,980	13	4
Cavalry Regiments.			
1st Royal Dragoons	22,264	7	0
2nd ditto	17,103	1	4
3rd ditto	22,264	7	0
4th ditto	22,264	7	0
5th ditto	22,264	7	0
10th Hussars	22,264	7	0
11th ditto	22,264	7	0
Infantry Regiments.			
5th Royal Fusiliers	26,620	4	10
11th Foot	26,620	4	10
16th ditto	26,620	4	10
24th ditto	26,620	4	10
34th ditto	26,620	4	10
36th ditto	26,620	4	10
45th ditto	37,305	9	5
53rd ditto	26,620	4	10
54th ditto	26,620	4	10
56th ditto	26,620	4	10
60th Rifles, 1st battalion	27,118	10	4
61st Foot	31,404	9	2
65th ditto	26,620	4	10
66th ditto	26,620	4	10
67th ditto	26,620	4	10
69th ditto	26,620	4	10
72nd Highlanders	26,620	4	10
Depôts.			
1st Royals, 1st battalion	6,592	3	5
1st ditto, 2nd ditto	6,592	3	5
14th Foot	6,655	1	2½
27th ditto	6,655	1	2½
30th ditto	6,655	1	2½
33rd ditto	6,655	1	2½
43rd ditto	6,643	11	0½
Carried forward	£735,629	15	11½

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward .	735,629	15	11½
46th Foot	6,655	1	2½
47th ditto	6,655	1	2
60th ditto	6,779	12	7
74th ditto	6,655	1	2½
81st ditto	6,655	1	2½
82nd ditto	6,655	1	2½
85th ditto	6,643	11	0½
89th ditto	6,655	1	2½
90th ditto	6,643	11	0½
Rifle Brigade, 1st battalion . .	6,814	3	1¼
	£802,441	0	11¼

Besides this military force, there was a naval armament composed of one flag-officer and suite, £1500.

Name of Ship.	Guns.	Men.	Annual Cost.
Caledonia Flag Ship, Rear-Admiral Bowles	120	850	£38,000
Fox Frigate	42	350	18,000
Iris ditto	26	250	8,500
Lynx Sloop	3	75	2,500
Snipe ditto	2	50	1,500
Penelope Steamer	22	250	12,000
Stromboli ditto	6	150	6,500
Flamer ditto	6	150	6,500
Tartarus ditto	2	75	4,500
Volcano ditto	2	75	4,500
Rhadamanthus ditto . . .	2	75	4,500
Total . . .	233	2,350	£108,500

To this military and naval force the armed constabulary is to be added, which consists of 9,043 men, and costs £512,605 a year.

In the Established Church, nearly all the bishoprics* and benefices are properly filled by Irishmen. So is it also in the law courts. With the exception of the Lord Chancellor, the different judges, and higher legal functionaries, are Irishmen. It is far otherwise in the remaining establishments, of which it may be summarily observed, that many are unnecessary; and many, nearly all, obnoxious, in consequence of the manner in which they are filled. This character will be most clearly

* The bench of bishops consists of two archbishops and twelve bishops; of whom three are Englishmen, and eleven Irishmen.

and intelligibly portrayed by printing a list of the principal public officers, with their respective denominations and salaries. There is—

	£	s.	d.
The Lord Lieutenant, *Earl de Grey* . . .	22,091	17	1
His Private Secretary, A. C. Magenis . . .	829	0	8
State-Steward, Capt. *Seymour* . . .	505	19	4
Comptroller of Household, Major R. Parker .	413	13	4
Chamberlain, G. L'Estrange . . .	200	0	0
Gentleman Usher, *F. Willis*	200	0	0
Gentleman of the Bedchamber, *C. Boothby* .	184	12	8
Gentlemen at large, Capt. Staines . .	128	18	0
Hamilton Gorges . .	128	18	0
Master of the Horse, *W. W. Williams* . .	200	0	0
Aids-de-Camp—Lord *Francis Gordon* .			
Capt. A. Cole . .	647	13	4
Capt. R. P. Dawson .			
Lieut. Lord *Aberdour* .			
Chief Secretary, Lord *Eliot*	5,500	0	0
His Secretary, *C. H. W. A'Court* . . .	369	4	0
Under-Secretary, E. Lucas	1,789	0	0
Chief, Senior, and Junior Clerks, (of whom 5 are English)	6,516	2	3
Keeper of Birmingham Tower, and Ulster King of Arms, Sir *W. Betham* . . .	580	0	0
Lord Chancellor, Sir *E. Sugden* . . .	8,000	0	0
His Secretary, *E. Sugden* .	2,000	0	0
Commander of the Forces, Sir *E. Blakeney*, (exclusive of salary and allowances as Governor of Kilmainham Hospital) . . .	1,387	0	0
Aids-de-Camp—Capt. *H. G. Conroy* .			
Capt. Hon. *St. G. Foley*	347	0	0
Military Secretary, Lieut.-Col. *Graves* . .	553	0	0
Adjutant-General, Col. T. Wade . . .	347	0	0
Deputy, Capt. *A. Sterling*	173	0	0
Inspector-General of Constabulary, Colonel *Duncan Mac Gregor*	1,500	0	0
Deputy-Inspectors-General, Lieut.-Col. Miller	1,200	0	0
Major J. Gallwey*	1,200	0	0
Inspector-General of Coast Guard, Sir *J. Dombrain*	1,000	0	0
Inspector-in-Chief of Revenue Police, Lieut.-Col. *W. Brereton*, C.B. K.H. . . .	1,000	0	0
Deputy-Chief do., Capt. *W. D. Stewart* . .	500	0	0
Paymaster of Civil Services, Right Hon. *T. F. Kennedy*	1,000	0	0
Ten Clerks in his Office, (of whom six Irish)	3,516	9	2
Secretary to the Post Office, *A. Godby* . .	1,200	0	0
Assistant Poor Law Commissioners, *E. Gulson, R. Hall, E. Senior*, W. J. Hancock, *R. M. Muggeridge*, C. G. Otway,* J. Burke .	13,160	0	0
Carried forward . .	£78,368	7	10

	£	s.	d.	
Brought forward . .	78,368	7	10	
Poor Law Architect, *G. Wilkinson* . .	1,664	0	0	†
Resident Commissioner of Education, A. Mac Donnell	1,000	0	0	
Secretaries to the Commission, Maurice Cross and J. Kelly,* Esqrs.	800	0	0	
Commissioners of Public Works, Fisheries, and Drainage of Land, Major-Gen. Sir *J. F. Burgoyne,* K.C.B.	1,200	0	0	
Pay as Major-General, in addition to salary, and exclusive of travelling expenses . .	500	0	0	
Brooke Taylor Ottley	600	0	0	
J. Radcliffe	600	0	0	
Engineer and Architect, *J. Owen* . . .	1,000	0	0	
Shannon Commissioners— Sir *J. F. Burgoyne,* *R. Griffith,*	No salary in this office, but travelling and incidental expenses.			
Lieut.-Col. *H. Jones,* besides travelling expenses	600	0	0	
General Boundary Surveyor and Commissioner of Valuation, *R. Griffith* . . .	1,000	0	0	
Inspectors-General of Prisons and Lunatic Asylums, Major T. Palmer . . .	500	0	0	
Doctor F. White* . . .	500	0	0	
	£88,512	7	10	

By this list, in which the names of all those who are not Irishmen appear in Italics, and a star is affixed to the names of the Roman Catholics, we see that out of 82 places, with salaries amounting to £88,512 7*s.* 10*d.*, 36, of the annual value of £19,556 6*s.* 8*d.*, are held by Irishmen; and that of these, 4, producing £4,980 a year, are filled by Roman Catholics; while 44 persons who are not Irish, take £62,001 2*s.* 6*d.* a year.

Inspecting these various establishments, a stranger's first impression is, that Ireland must be a country admirably well governed. Human ingenuity seems to have exhausted invention in providing departments and offices for the supervision, management, and encouragement of the affairs of this portion of the empire. Here is a viceroy, and a court, a formidable military and naval array, every description of fiscal and civil functionary, and boards, and commissions for all possible purposes,—for cutting canals, constructing rail-

† This does not include a charge of £1,213 14*s.* 6*d.* for extras.

ways, opening navigations, draining bogs, and making harbours, piers, and post-roads,—as well as for providing a police, protecting the revenue, promoting education, and managing and maintaining the lands, goods and chattels of the church by law established. Every improvement that can be desired, and every object that seems useful, is cherished and protected by a staff, appropriately salaried, at the public expense. Other bodies, not mentioned, might have been added—such as boards for paving streets, and a commission for gas-lighting. You might almost fancy that an Irishman could not snuff a candle without the advice and assistance of government. But the more we dwell upon this assumption of duties not properly governmental, and this extreme care of small things, a suspicion arises that the whole system is a mistake in politics; and as we proceed in our examination, we become convinced that it is an abuse also. In a word, political corruption is the aim and end of all, and never was corruption more successfully applied. No man approaches the government without being more or less infected by its contagion. Let the office be what it may, appointment to it is either the price of party services already rendered, or a bribe to others expected to be performed. Persons thus preferred, surrender, upon taking place, their own independence, and employ themselves while they fill it in overawing or undermining the independence of others. They find the power of the government paramount wherever it is admitted, or can penetrate, and the influence of the people in a variety of important respects insignificant, and in others a nonentity. Once engrafted upon the system, they imbibe its essential nature, and make it the subtle business of the rest of their lives, if not to put down the people as a nuisance whenever they come in contact with the government, at least to hold them in leading strings, and move them as so many docile instruments for accomplishing any measures it may suit the pleasure or the interests of their rulers to introduce.

How abundant the springs of open discontent and secret dissatisfaction thus poured upon the community—how much there

is in such a condition that must be irritating to contemplate, and galling to bear,—it would be long and wearisome to particularize. We are bound, however, to mark the course and action of some few of the larger streams into which they swell. There are three principal officers in the administration of Irish affairs—the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Chancellor, and the Chief Secretary. All three are Englishmen; and the constant practice has been to appoint Englishmen to these high and profitable situations. From the year 1711 to the Union, James, duke of Ormonde, was the only Irishman who was lord lieutenant; and from the Union to the present day, only one Irishman, the late Marquis Wellesley, occupied that post. Thus, with two exceptions, Ireland has been governed, during a period of 156 years, by English peers. So of the lord chancellors; so, too, of the chief secretaries. By the following list, continued from Wakefield to the close of the year 1843, it will be seen that but very few of the persons who have filled these high offices have been either Irish, or possessed of estates in Ireland.

	Lord Lieutenants.	Chief Secretaries.
1760.	*Duke of Bedford.*	*R. Rigby.*
1761.	*Earl of Halifax.*	*W. G. Hamilton.*
1763.	*Earl of Northumberland.*	Ditto, and Charles Earl of Drogheda.
1765.	**Viscount Weymouth.*	**Edward Thurlow.*
	Earl of Hertford.	*Viscount Beauchamp.*
1766.	*Earl of Bristol.*	*Hon. J. A. Hervey.*
1767.	*Viscount Townshend.*	*Lord F. Campbell.*
1768.		Sir G. Macartney.
1772.	*Earl Harcourt.*	Sir J. Blaquiere.
1777.	*Earl of Buckinghamshire.*	*Sir R. Heron.*
1780.	*Earl of Carlisle.*	*W. Eden.*
1782.	*Duke of Portland.*	Hon. R. Fitzpatrick.
	Earl Temple.	*W. W. Grenville.*
1783.	*Earl of Northington.*	*W. Wyndham.*
		Hon. T. Pelham.
1784.	*Duke of Rutland.*	*T. Orde.*
1787.	*Marquis of Buckingham.*	*A. Fitzherbert,* afterwards *Lord St. Helen's.*
1789.	*Earl of Westmoreland.*	*R. Hobart,* afterwards *Earl of Buckinghamshire.*
1793.		*Sylvester Douglas,* afterwards *Lord Glenbervie.*

* Appointed, but did not serve.

	Lord Lieutenants.	Chief Secretaries.
1795.	*Earl Fitzwilliam.*	*Hon. G. Damer*, afterwards *Earl of Dorchester.*
	Earl Camden.	*Hon. T. Pelham*, afterwards *Earl of Chichester.*
1798.	*Marquis Cornwallis.*	Viscount Castlereagh.
1801.	*Earl Hardwicke.*	Ditto, and *C. Abbott*, afterwards *Lord Colchester.*
		1802. *W. Wickham.*
		1804. *Sir E. Nepean.*
		1805. *N. Vansittart*, afterwards *Lord Bexley.*
1806.	*Duke of Bedford.*	*W. Elliot.*
1807.	*Duke of Richmond.*	Sir A. Wellesley, now Duke of Wellington.
		1809. *Hon. R. Dundas*, afterwards *Lord Melville.*
		Hon. W. Wellesley Pole, now Earl of Mornington.
1813.	*Viscount* afterwards *Earl Whitworth.*	
1817.	*Earl Talbot.*	*R. Peel.*
		C. Grant, now *Lord Glenelg.*
1821.	*Marquis Wellesley.*	*H. Goulburn.*
		1827. *W. Lamb*, now *Viscount Melbourne.*
1828.	*Marquis of Anglesey.*	*Lord F. L. Gower*, now *Egerton.*
1829.	*Duke of Northumberland.*	*Sir H. Hardinge.*
1830.	*Marquis of Anglesey.*	*Lord Stanley.*
1833.	Marquis Wellesley.	*Sir J. C. Hobhouse.*
		E. I. Littleton, now *Lord Hatherton.*
1834.	*Earl of Haddington.*	Sir H. Hardinge.
	Earl of Mulgrave, now *Marquis of Normanby.*	*Viscount Morpeth.*
	Lord Ebrington, now *Earl Fortescue.*	Ditto.
	Earl de Grey.	*Lord Eliot.*

	Lord Chancellors.	Lord Chancellors.
1761.	*Lord Bowes.*	1827. *Sir A. Hart.*
1767.	*Hewitt, Lord Lifford.*	1830. Lord Plunket.
1789.	Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare.	1835. *Sir E. Sugden.*
1802.	*Lord Redesdale.*	Lord Plunket.
1806.	George Ponsonby.	1841. *Lord Campbell.*
1807.	*Lord Manners.*	*Sir E. Sugden.*

In the year 1172, when Henry II. made his first rude effort to establish the English interest in Ireland, he put an English lord lieutenant at the head of his half-formed government. In 1843, the principal instrument of Queen Victoria's administration of Irish affairs is still a lord lieutenant. In

this respect the progress of 671 years has not advanced us a single step in the way of improvement. The lord lieutenant, the lord chancellor, and the chief secretary hold all the power, patronage, and payment of the state at their disposal. These persons are now and have constantly been Englishmen; and their immediate retainers and followers are Englishmen also. Occasionally, it is true, an Irishman finds his way to a desk in the Castle of Dublin; but whenever that happens, his post is sure to prove an inferior one, and the salary comparatively small. That this style of administration ought to have been abolished at the Union, will strike the most casual observer: that it is, under the critical circumstances of the present agitation, as intolerable as it is impolitic, may be briefly demonstrated in the most convincing manner.

There are two capital defects in the appointment and structure of such a government. In the first place, its members, however capable and efficient, are, upon all occasions of emergency, overborne and neutralized by the cabinet in London. This imperative condition of a double administration produces its natural effect. It indisposes and diverts the local government from the consideration and promotion of the higher interests of the country, and sets them upon a lower range of duties. By allowing them but little to do, it drives them to find employment where their interference is injurious. They apply themselves actively to small things, which they strive to make great, in order to raise them to a level with their official dignity, because with things really great it is not found convenient in England to permit them to meddle. Thus they sink into the promotion of petty schemes of private ambition and party gain, and become the patrons and abettors of local interests and personal favours, and an endless variety of political jobs. Hence the origin of the numerous boards and commissions already spoken of, and the general absorption into the grasp of government of those enterprises and avocations which, when pursued and exercised by private individuals, vivify the industry and extend the resources of a country; but paralyze and waste the public energy and wealth,

when taken up by the state, and prosecuted to answer the narrow views of its immediate dependents.

This furnishes the first grave objection to the present order of things: one still graver remains to be brought forward. The mode of filling the offices is a passing injury: the existence of the offices is a permanent evil, for the reason just indicated, and this in addition—all great empires sway their dependencies and detached provinces in this very way. The Irish is a colonial form of government. This one fact is worth a thousand arguments. The English viceroy, with his English court—the English secretary of state—the English lord chancellor—the English commander of the forces, &c. &c. &c., are the living, palpable and conclusive proofs of a dependent and inferior condition. They point out with irresistible force the true nature of the connection between the two countries;—they exhibit the Union as an unaccomplished theory—and leave the thoughtful Irishman perfectly convinced that there is as yet no thorough consolidation, and no substantial equality, between the two kingdoms. The lord lieutenancy of Ireland is the fountain head of the agitation for a repeal of the Union.

Honour, sound policy, and economy, suggest the abolition of this anomalous government and its courtly accompaniments:—honour, because all such establishments contravene the spirit of equality upon which the Union is based;—sound policy, because while you goad a populous and high-spirited nation with a substantial proof of subserviency, you compel them to be disaffected;—and economy, because you may thus retrench a series of expenses which are not simply unnecessary, but positively mischievous. The last is the weakest reason of the three, inasmuch as the good and contentment of so large a member of the united empire is not to be estimated by the common consideration of pounds, shillings and pence. And yet there is more than one set of politicians by whom the abolition of the present form of government would be strongly resisted. There is still, as there always has been, in Ireland, a faction to cry "ruin," whenever any measure of retrench-

ment or improvement has been proposed for the common weal. It consists of persons who sustain existence by picking up the crumbs and small gratuities of the viceregal board, and who literally live upon the refuse of the existing system. There are others, vain of the paltry pomp of this second-hand royalty, who do not see that it is necessarily one-sided, and always fosters extreme party men and party measures, who feel no disgust when a fête is to be given in the Castle, at the huxtering that takes place to cheapen the price of ices and oysters, and are not sickened by the sour sherry that is served at supper.* Another and a less unreasonable class of objectors will be found amongst those who conceive that peculiar advantages are conferred upon Dublin by the presence of a court. This is a common but a certain mistake. They err fundamentally, who would maintain an office for the sake of the money it expends. Stately and costly establishments may be the consequences, but are never the causes, of national prosperity. The true and only lasting elements of a country's greatness are to be found in its natural resources, and the uses to which the industry of the inhabitants converts those resources. In this respect Ireland, depending upon herself, has nothing to apprehend. The real business of the country is transacted by the lord chancellor and the attorney general. All the other officials, however ostentatiously arranged, merely execute forms which may be safely dispensed with. Let the South, then, look at the North, and emulate Belfast;—let all Ireland mark Scotland, and Dublin in particular fix its attention upon Edinburgh. How has that city, and the whole country of which it is the capital, flourished? Not certainly by means of a viceroy and a separate government, but through the loss of both. And just so would it be with Ireland. To relieve that country, we should begin by removing the incubus of a lord lieutenancy, and with it the Castle faction—ever on

* Such a topic as this would be too contemptible for notice in a serious publication, but that being repeated *usque ad nauseam* everywhere in society, it serves to indicate the estimate formed by the upper classes of the true uses for which the viceroyalty is to be maintained.

the alert to promote its own advantage—never prone to consult the public interests. We should give free scope to the popular impulse for improvement. We should unshackle Ireland, as we have unshackled Scotland, if we would see her rise in the scale of moral dignity and national wealth. We should insure an open field for honest exertion, if we would divert the spirit and the power now abroad upon the island, to develop a new condition of things, render the inhabitants peaceful and happy, and make them the ornament and strength of the empire at large, and the envy of its less favoured parts.

Compare Scotland with Ireland, and how marked the difference between the two countries! In Scotland, places are uniformly filled by Scotchmen. During the debate on Mr. Smith O'Brien's motion in 1843, the rule was critically proved by a solitary exception instanced by Sir Robert Peel, as if anxious to show that for once one swallow could make a summer, in the case of the Secretary of the Edinburgh Post Office, Sir E. Lees,* who happens, *mirabile dictu*, to be an Irishman! In Scotland, further, the church of the majority is the established church; while various educational institutions, including three universities, originally endowed from public sources, are liberally devoted to rear generation after generation in accordance with the principles and prepossessions of the great bulk of the community. In a word, public opinion and the will of the majority, in Scotland, prescribe and regulate the patronage of civil offices, and the form and efficiency of the ecclesiastical and educational establishments of the country. Does not this in a great measure account for the contentment, the industry, the wealth, the intelligence, and the moral character of the Scottish people? Is there a man bold enough to pretend, that if Scotland was governed as Ireland is, her circumstances would not be the very reverse of prosperous? We know how the Scotch dealt with the attempt to impose the Established Church of England upon them. They drew their

* Sir Edward, though an Irishman born, is the son of a Scotchman who emigrated to take office.

claymores, and put down episcopacy by force of arms. Suppose that attack upon the rights of conscience successful—suppose, too, the affairs of that country administered like those of a colony—ruled by an English viceroy, with a tawdry court full of cold and supercilious Englishmen, with a cringing train of schemers and jobbers, plotting, subverting, and abusing the leading national interests,—suppose all this, and then conceive the tone of the reclamations, the spirit of the agitation, and the strength of the resistance that would arise against the union between England and Scotland! Suppose this, and then ask, where would be the manufactures in which Scotland rivals, and the agriculture in which she surpasses, England? The answers to these questions will be too well understood by every reader to require distinct expression. Let us not inhale the indignation or the resentment they breathe. But let us take advantage of the salutary lesson they inculcate: let us no longer blindly deceive ourselves respecting the nature of the violent experiment we have hitherto been trying in Ireland: let us judge of the tree we have planted and reared by the fruit it bears: let us confess that where the consequences for ages have been fatal, the causes must be deadly: let us renovate our policy, and regenerate a nation: let us invoke for Ireland the system that has pacified, enlightened, and enriched Scotland: let us do by the one country as we have done by the other,—and we may reasonably hope to gain the same great ends; let us give the Irish people the benefit of the Queen's government directly, and not at second-hand; let us raise the condition and instruct the ignorance of the labouring classes; let us, without impairing the efficiency of the church established by law, associate with the state upon fair and respectful terms the church of the majority of the nation;—and at length we may find the people of the three kingdoms indissolubly united, because thoroughly identified in their interests, and equally participating together, in every respect, a common and undivided prosperity and fame.

In order to close this chapter as it began, statistically, a

summary is annexed, with the addition of some particulars not given already, and derived for the most part from the official documents already quoted.

In 1841,	The people were	8,175,124
	They pay an average revenue, in round numbers, per annum, of . (Thus Ireland contributes much under one-third of the population and about one-twelfth of the revenue of the United Kingdom.)	£4,500,000
—	The arable land in acres, is . . .	13,464,300
—	The waste ditto	6,295,738
—	The number of houses	1,328,839
—	The rental of land and houses . .	£21,394,675
—	The live stock on the land was worth .	£20,671,068
—	The grain, meal, &c., exported to Great Britain	1,360,480 qrs.
—	According to the average prices advertised in the *London Gazette*, this quantity represented a sum of . .	£3,530,285 6*s.* 11*d.*
—	The official value of the Imports .	£1,693,375
—	Exports .	£416,965
1843.	The net produce of the Customs, Excise, Stamps, Post Office, &c.	£4,256,891
—	The Circulating Medium . . .	£8,000,000
1841.	The number of Savings Banks Depositors	77,522
—	Amount deposited	£2,243,426
—	The National Debts of the United Kingdom and Ireland having been consolidated, their respective amounts are undistinguishable—but of the total National Debt of the Empire, there was held in the names of persons resident in Ireland . . .	£34,099,219 14*s.*
—	At an annual interest of . .	£1,183,845 18*s.* 4½*d.*
1843.	The military force was, men . .	21,210
—	Costing	£802,441 0*s.* 11¼*d.*
—	The naval force, vessels . . .	11
—	guns . . .	233
—	men	2,350
—	Costing	£108,500
—	Armed constabulary, men . . .	9,043
—	Costing	£512,605
—	The charge of the Civil Establishments	£2,137,253 6*s.* 0*d.*

CHAPTER II.

STATE OF IRELAND AT THE PERIOD OF THE ENGLISH INVASION.

EVIDENCES OF THE ORIGIN OF THE INHABITANTS.—THEIR EARLY STRUCTURES.—CAIRNS, CROMLECHS, ROUND-TOWERS, AND STONE-ROOFED CHURCHES.—POLITICAL CONSTITUTION.—FIVE KINGS.—THE LAWS OF TANISTRY AND GAVELKIND.—INHERENT ELEMENTS OF INTERNAL DIVISION AND NATIONAL WEAKNESS.—DANISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE SEA-PORTS, THEIR SEPARATE TERRITORIES, PRINCES AND CHURCH.

The exposition given in the preceding chapter of the present circumstances of the people and the government in Ireland, is a plain summary of the actual consequences of the connection of that country with England, during a period of seven centuries. To understand this condition of things thoroughly, we should be acquainted with the chain of events out of which it has arisen. A few broad outlines are thus rendered necessary of the state of Ireland at the period of the invasion, as well as of the progress and results of that unprincipled adventure. It is only by producing the leading causes of existing circumstances, and by developing the spirit in which they were set in motion, and the course of their action, that we shall be able to analyse with any clearness the true nature of the dominant evils—to indicate the most applicable remedies—and to sustain the policy which may prevent the future from being a counterpart of the past.

The primitive condition of Ireland and the Irish people supplies a theme full of curious interest: it is grave, varied, intricate, and suggestive of extraordinary speculations—falling short in its main features and properties of the romantic, which demands definite events and presentable heroes, but extending a roll of wonderful incidents and shadowy personages, which furnish the true characteristics of the mysterious.

Few persons can penetrate the surface of this difficult and comprehensive subject, without receiving a general impression, that the Irish are a most ancient people, and were distinguished by superior power and knowledge at a period long anterior to that in which we discover the clear sources of civilization amongst the leading nations of modern history. But the moment an attempt is made to explain the grounds of that impression—to trace it to an accountable origin—to fix it satisfactorily at some positive epoch—to apply to it a rational theory of cause and effect—we find ourselves plunged into impenetrable darkness, and are lost in the midst of confusion, uncertainty, clashing contradictions, and infinite mysticism.

The learning of ages has been sedulously applied to this question, without evolving a single account of the earlier inhabitants and institutions of the country which is not confused and perplexing in the extreme.* Three sources of information have challenged the particular attention of the many disputants and inquirers who have dealt with the subject. The first was found in the early annals of the Irish themselves, which, if not all as original and authentic as has been represented, are numerous and valuable; the second is composed of scattered notices in the classical authors of Greece and Rome; and the third consists of the relations of pious Christians who propagated religion in the island, or narrated its progress for the edification of other nations.† From the mouths of these streams of knowledge, we may perhaps be permitted to infer, without much exactness of detail, three principal occurrences as highly probable:—1st. Descending the current of classical antiquity, we trace our first knowledge of Ireland to the Phœnicians. Those surprising adventurers passed the Straits of Gibraltar, and, proceeding by the northern

* The first volume of Mr. Moore's "History of Ireland," in the "Cabinet Cyclopædia," contains all the information that diligent research and patient criticism can contribute to throw light on the various theories propounded to explain the remote history of the country.

† Primate Usher and Mr. Moore are minute in the collection of authorities under this head, beginning with St. Cathalgus, an Irishman who went to preach the Gospel on the Continent, A.D. 100, and died Bishop of Tarentum in Italy.

shores of Spain, reached Cornwall and Ireland. They traded with the inhabitants. Who those inhabitants were, is another and more doubtful question. What commodities were imported, and what taken away from Ireland in exchange, it is still more difficult to determine. With Cornwall they traded in tin; but their commerce with Ireland we are at a loss to conjecture. They gave the island the name of Ierne, whence Erin. 2ndly. That an immigration of Spaniards took place seems nearly certain; not only is the event supported by common tradition, but the distinct features of such a race are to this day discernible in many districts of the South and West of Ireland. The Irish annalists assert that they were led by a chief named Milesius, and supplied a long succession of kings. The name Hibernia is supposed to have been adopted by this people from their own Iberia. 3rdly. From quite a different direction there rushed one or more Belgic races, by the Irish called Gaels and Firbolgs. Some, at least, of these seem to have preceded the Milesians, and were crossed and interrupted in their career by hordes from the North, Scandinavians and Danes. Upon no other supposition can we explain the early mention, by the oldest chroniclers, of the people called Tuatha de Danaans. Their particular derivation seems to be wrapt in impenetrable obscurity; so that upon the whole we are perhaps only safe in asserting that Scandinavians and Danes, from the north-west shores of the European continent, made frequent descents upon Ireland before the ninth and tenth centuries, when their enterprises became matter of authentic history. There is room, moreover, to assert of these marauders, that although upon their more remote as well as their more recent attacks they failed to conquer the country, they nevertheless obtained possession of some of the best places along the eastern shore, and held them by a precarious but uninterrupted tenure, until they were found exercising independent authority in them by the English in the year 1170.

These abstruse points of origin are not those only on which the primæval accounts of Ireland and its inhabitants open a

wide field of arduous controversy. The honours of a high state of civilization and learning, at a very remote period of antiquity, have been claimed for their forefathers by almost all Irish writers. Englishmen, on the other hand, have too often run into the opposite extreme, and affected to consider that little or nothing of value had been produced in Ireland before the English invasion. Between these conflicting statements it is, perhaps, less difficult to arbitrate fairly than in most cases of violent difference. It appears to be a fact, no less extraordinary than certain, that the Christian religion was cultivated, in a pure and almost apostolical form, with more eminent success in Ireland, in the sixth century, than in any other part of Western Europe. It also appears that the Irish church was at the same time self-governed, and independent of the See of Rome; and that scholastic establishments flourished in the country, to which pupils flocked from the Continent in great numbers. If we lay aside all that the Irish relate upon this subject, there will still remain other sources of information to place the matter beyond the pale of controversy. But it is equally true, that this was not a permanent state of things. The Irish did not sustain this precocious superiority over the rest of Europe. It is a curious feature in modern history, that Ireland in the sixth century had attained more than a liberal share of the principal elements of civilization and knowledge, and possessed in the tenth and eleventh centuries a humble rank in the list of European kingdoms. There seems to be no room to deny that Ireland, as Giraldus Cambrensis saw it, did not correspond with the same country as Venerable Bede described it. At the same time it is quite an error to suppose that all traces of the past had vanished—that none of the spirit of its former vitality survived—no fruits of cultivation were preserved—or that the monuments of civilization and all the institutions it creates had been wholly swept away.

Specimens of the official correspondence called forth by the political and ecclesiastical position of affairs, when the English attacked the country, have been preserved, and they induce

us to form no unfavourable opinion of the degree of information and intelligence prevailing at the time they were written amongst the upper classes. The state of knowledge is further illustrated by the state of religion, which again is exemplified in the number and description of the abbeys, monasteries, and places of divine worship, erected and occupied at the period. In the ruins of these and other public buildings we discover visible proofs of the extent to which civilization and the arts had proceeded. Various remains, such as arms and ornaments dug up from time to time out of the earth, and a few valuable relics preserved in private families, supply interesting additions to this testimony. Incidental notices of the commerce of Ireland are to be gleaned in cotemporary works, and when found throw a clear light upon the mode of living at that day. The laws of Ireland, the mode of government, and the ranks into which the people were distributed furnish the last link in the chain of evidence; and it is to be remarked of it that our information upon this head of the inquiry is more full than any other, and that it also supplies us with a satisfactory explanation of the circumstances which rendered Ireland so distracted, weak, and unfortunate, and made it so easy a prey to the spoiler.

Sir William Petty seems to have led the way to the low estimate and incorrect opinions of modern English authors respecting the civilization of Ireland at the period of the English invasion.

"There is," says Sir William, in his "Political Anatomy of Ireland," "at this day, no monument or real argument that when the Irish were first invaded they had any stone housing at all, any money, any foreign trade, nor any learning but the Legends of the Saints, Psalters, Missals, Rituals, &c., nor geometry, astronomy, anatomy, architecture, engineering, painting, carving, nor any kind of manufactures, nor the least use of navigation, or the art military."

Admitting Sir W. Petty's authority to be, as it unquestionably is, not only eminent, but superior to his age, in statistics and political economy, the passage just quoted suffices to show that he is not to be implicitly followed upon the subject of

either Irish or English antiquities. His first assertion, that the Irish had "no stone housing at all," is loosely expressed. If the meaning be private houses, it is unquestionably true; but in that case the observation will convey no reproach, because it is to the full as applicable to England as to Ireland. Architects admit it to be an undisputed fact, that no private residences of stone were erected in England before the reign of Henry VII., during which, moreover, brick, if not first introduced, was at best only revived after a long interval of disuse. Castles and ecclesiastical edifices were the only stone buildings in the country previous to that period. The evidence of this truth, to borrow the words of Sir W. Petty, is, that there is no monument or real argument of any private residences of stone or brick to be found in England of a date prior to the reign of the Seventh Henry. All private houses were built of wood and plaster up to that period. Country gentlemen and persons of substance only then began to build with stone and brick; while the majority of the people of England retained the lath and plaster house up to a much more recent period. Specimens of these erections abounded in London at the beginning of the present century, nor are they as yet extinct. If, then, lath and plaster formed the habitations of the English so late as the reign of Henry VII., it is unquestionably not a reproach to the civilization of the Irish that they had no better dwelling-places in the reign of Henry *II.**

* Not only has the progress of refinement, generally speaking, been much slower, but the origin of many of these conveniences and comforts which in England are now universally diffused, has been much more recent than is commonly supposed. There is a passage in Holinshed which exposes the rude state of English living so late as two generations after Henry VII. in a remarkable manner. "There are old men," says the Chronicler, "yet dwelling in the village where I remain, who have noted three things to be marvellously altered in England, within their sound remembrance;—one is the multitude of chimneys lately erected, whereas in their young days there were but two or three in the uplandish towns of the realm:—the second is the great amendment in lodging,—for, said they, our fathers and ourselves have lain full oft on straw pallets, covered with a sheet, under coverlets of dog's wane and hop harlots, and a good round log under their heads as a bolster; if it were so that the father or good man of the house had a mattrass or flock bed, and thereon a sack of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself as well lodged as the lord of the town; as for the servants, if they had any sheet upon them it was

This view of the question leaves us grounds for no other supposition than that Sir W. Petty must have understood by stone housing such buildings of stone as were to be found in England during the reign of Henry II., that is to say, castles and churches. That such edifices had been raised in Ireland before the English invasion, cannot be disputed. The real arguments—the monuments themselves—were not only extant when Sir W. Petty wrote, but exist to this day. Nor are we at a loss for equally sound proofs to show that substantial stone buildings were erected in Ireland at a very remote age—so remote, indeed, that it may be reasonably doubted whether England can exhibit architectural relics of greater antiquity.

The progress of building in Ireland, from an extremely distant age, is to be traced with clearness and certainty in a short compass. The architectural antiquities of the country, in the first or oldest class, consist of cairns, or tombs—cromlechs, or altars—and raths, also called moats, or military forts. These appear to have been the earliest constructions raised by the hands of man in Ireland, and well defined examples of them are still to be found scattered over the country in various directions. The cairn and the cromlech have been distinguished from one another—perhaps with no great reason. The cairn is considered to have been a burial place, upon which stones were heaped, in accordance with a custom common to all ages and nations, which honours the dead by commemorating the place of their interment. Upon this supposition, the Irish cairn and the Egyptian pyramid are to be regarded as taking their rise from the same feelings, and only exhibiting different eras of civilization and art. The Irish cairn is perhaps one of the rudest and most ancient modes by which the human race attempt to preserve the memory of the dead; it consists, as now seen, of large blocks of stone,

well, for seldom had they any under their bodies to keep them from the pricking straws, that ran thro' the canvass and razed their hardened hides:—The third thing they tell us of is the exchange of trene (wooden) platters into pewter, and wooden spoons into silver or tin; for so common were all sorts of trene vessels in those times, that a man could hardly find four pieces of pewter in a good farm-house."

sometimes five in number, placed side by side, and surrounded by a circle of smaller stones, of some thirty or more yards in diameter.

Assuming the cairn to be a burial-place, the cromlech is to be described as an altar; perhaps, however, they were both originally one and the same—places for the joint purpose of devotion and sepulture; between which, the difference now observable may be the result of nothing more than the greater degree of perfection in which the large stones of some remain, than others. In what are called cairns, the stones are small, broken, and in a heap. In cromlechs, they are whole and huge. We have an instance of the manner in which these rude masses may be displaced and become dilapidated, in the county of Waterford. In a field near the bridge of Couse-ma-Keal, on the old road from Waterford to Tramore, there is a cromlech, which the farmer occupying the ground was some years ago anxious to get rid of. He succeeded in displacing the incumbent stone from its resting-place at one end, but beyond that he was unable to move it—the immense weight defied his exertions. Nevertheless, it is not to be doubted, that in process of time even this huge mass will be further mutilated and reduced. The first injury has been done, and it seems to be the natural course of things in this world, that the work of ruin once commenced, always proceeds. The measure of the now incumbent stone is given in the Rev. Mr. Ryland's "History of Waterford," at 21 feet long, 18 broad, and from 1 to 3 feet thick.

If popular tradition may be relied on, the cromlech, which is also spelt cromleach, was a Druidical altar. On this, however, as on almost every other antiquarian subject, authorities disagree,—some referring them to a different people and an older age than that of the Druids. The etymology of the word is also disputed. By some it is derived from Crom, God, and leac, a flat stone; by others from the Punic crom, which has been translated bowing the body reverentially, and leacht, the bed of death. This version would not be incompatible with the human sacrifices encouraged by the priests of Pagan worship, who are also said to have constructed the

rude chairs of stone found in Ireland, in which they sat to dispense public justice,—a custom certainly observed by the Brehon, or Irish lawgiver, down to a recent period.

Perhaps our best evidence of the religious application of the cromlech originally, is discoverable in the very early location of churches in its immediate vicinity. We know that the founders of Christianity in almost all countries followed the sensible policy of seeking to win over the Pagan to the new worship, by adopting many of the customs and frequenting the sites which had previously been held sacred. It has also been remarked, that many of these cromlechs, like our Christian churches, lie directly East and West. There is a cromlech on Sugar-Loaf Hill, in the county of Waterford, the neighbourhood of which was selected as the site of a Christian church which has fallen into decay, while the older relic still lifts its stupendous piles to the sky, to all appearance as strong as when first it was devoted to the barbarous worship of false divinities. Strange sight and mysterious coincidence—the recent Christian temple a miserable ruin, and the primæval Pagan altar towering over it remains a perfect and undamaged whole.

The tumulus, called a rath, or moat, occurs even more commonly in Ireland than the cairn or the cromlech. In some districts raths are to be found as thick as mole-hills. There is a very well defined moat of the barrow, or earthen kind, at Ardamine, between Gorey and the sea-coast, in the county of Wexford. The top, or cap, is particularly well formed; the ravines or passes, which secured it as a place of strength, are distinctly visible. The adjoining churchyard of Ardamine testifies to the close succession of the Christian worship in the seats of idolatry; but here again, the church has fallen—the Pagan temple remains erect.

Another form of rath-moats with caves hollowed underneath, and vaulted with stone, has been carefully illustrated by Dr. Ledwich:—"About the year 1699, a Mr. Campbell, who resided in the village of New Grange, observing stones under the green sod, carried much of them away to repair a road; and proceeding in this work, he at length arrived at a broad flat stone, that co-

vered the mouth of the gallery. At the entrance, this gallery is 3 feet wide, and 2 high; at 12 feet from the entrance, it is but 2 feet 2 inches wide. The length of the gallery from its mouth to the beginning of the dome is 62 feet; from thence to the upper part of the dome, 11 feet 6 inches; the whole length, 71½ feet. The dome or cave within the long gallery, gives the exact figure of a cross; length between the arms of the cross, 20 feet. The dome forms an octagon 20 feet high, with an area of about 17. It is composed of long flat stones, the upper projecting a little below the lower, and closed in and capped with a flat flag. There are two oval rock basins in the cave, one in each arm of the cross. On first entering the dome, not far from the centre, a pillar was found, and two skeletons on each side, not far from the pillar. In the recesses were three hollow stone basins, 2 and 3 feet diameter." *

The rath caves examined by Mr. Crofton Croker, in 1829, at Garranes, in the parish of Carrigtohill, about nine miles east of Cork, are interesting remains. The information gathered upon the occasion tends to show that, numerous as the discoveries of subterranean chambers of this description have been, there are, in all probability, even still a greater number unexplored. The Garranes caverns are situated within a circular entrenchment, the diameter of which is 120 feet. At the third of that space, from the south side, appeared a circular pit, about 7 feet in depth, and measuring 5½ feet in diameter. From this pit (which probably had been a chamber, the roof having fallen in) two holes, resembling the entrances to fox-earths, descended at an angle of about 20 degrees into chambers of a depressed beehive-like make, excavated from the soil, which is a stiff clay mixed with gravel. These holes or passages (in size barely sufficient to allow a man to creep through them) respectively led to a chamber, formed as just described, without any masonry; and from each of these a like communication led to a third chamber, from which there was a similar passage into a fourth. Here the passage into a fifth

* Ledwich's Antiquities, p. 44.

chamber was blocked up with large stones, two or three of which were removed; the confined space the workman was placed in, made it impossible to open the communication without more time and labour than could have been devoted to the investigation, and the examination terminated.

The dimensions of the chambers varied from 7 to 8 feet in diameter, and in form they were between the oval and the circle. The plan and section of the entrenchment, with measurement published by Mr. Croker, present at a glance a better idea of their relative situations than can be conveyed by description. A considerable quantity of charcoal was found in these chambers when discovered, and the fragment of a quern or hand-mill.

Within a circle of five miles round Garranes, there are no less than fourteen circular entrenchments remaining. They are called by the country people, when speaking of them in Irish, indifferently, "Lis" and "Rath," and in English, "the Danes' Fort," or "the Old Fort." Mr. Croker thinks it probable that these works were thrown up by the native Irish, around their little wigwam settlements, as a defence against any sudden attack from an enemy or from wolves, and that subterranean chambers or cellars were formed for granaries, or as secure depositories in time of danger for their rude property.*

The military rath, or fortified stronghold, displayed no mean art, and could only have been erected by persevering labour. Two specimens of this style of building exist—one the Staig Fort in Kerry, of which there is a model made by the Dublin Society; the other is on the summit of a small mountain, 802 feet high, on the eastern shore of Lough Swilly. The latter rath, which is called the Grianan† of Aileach, has been

* Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi, et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem frigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt; et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa, aut ignorantur aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quærenda sunt.—*Tacitus, De Moribus Germanorum*, cap. 16.

† Grianan has been variously translated;—by some it is taken to mean the Sun, in which sense as Aileach means a stone habitation—Grianan Aileach would mean the Stone Temple of the Sun. Mr. Petrie, in the chap-

minutely described with considerable learning in the "Memoir of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland." There is a gradual ascent for about a mile from the base, terminating within a few hundred feet from the top in an apex, which is circular and precipitous. The view from this is extensive and imposing. The summit is approached by a road formed between two ledges of rock, and defining in its course three concentric ramparts, crowned by the *Cashel* or Keep, which consists of an area of 77 feet 6 inches in diameter, enclosed by a circular stone wall sloping inwards, which is from 11 to 13 feet in breadth, and now about 6 feet high, though conjectured to have been in its original state twice if not three times that height.

The remains of a well-formed gateway are seen at the entrance—the lintels of the doorways, though displaced, are lying in front. In what may be described the inner face of the keep, two hollow galleries have been formed in the thick wall, about five feet high. They are covered with flat stones, uncemented, and are entered from the area. In one, but not in both, is a recess with a seat: to reach their doors you pass, on the inside face of the wall, two flights of steps which lead to a terrace. The masonry of this building deserves attention; it is of uncemented stone, similar to that found in other Irish cashels or fortress keeps, and affords satisfactory proof that the stones, which average 2 feet in length, had been regularly prepared for the building, and squared with the hammer, though not chiselled.

Of the frequent attempts which have been made to affix a particular era to these works, it is not too much to observe, that a few are ingenious, many tiresome, all conjectural, and none satisfactory. We are safe in affirming that they are very old, and that, in all probability, the first rude efforts in stone building in Ireland were the flag-roofed caves—and the second the uncemented cut stone fort. It is hardly necessary to add, that both must have preceded the English invasion by many centuries. That, however, is not the thought which strikes

ter on Antiquities in the Ordnance Memoir, interprets Grianan as synonymous with Dun, fortress or palace, and calls Grianan Aileach a Royal Palace.

the mind most powerfully, while we pause to contemplate the remains and dimensions of these massive structures. How wild and mysterious the mode of life followed by the people, of whose strong hands these were the toilsome labours! How multitudinous must not the nation have been, which furnished the heaps of bones still lying blanched and unconsumed under the scattered stones of the damaged but undestroyed cairn—and who required altars for their congregations so huge and elevated as the cromlech! How powerful they who could have formed such retreats as these long subterranean vaults and such high defences as the Staig Fort and Grianan Aileach! Imagine them now covering the hill side in the open face of Heaven, and bending under the natural impulse of the human heart to venerate God, and now crouching into their vaulted caverns to save life from violence and property from plunder! How far removed the age and how primitive the people, whose habits and pursuits, whose devotions and warfare, are described in the vast ruins of these strange monuments! How natural and excusable upon the part of their descendants, the boast of a high antiquity, and the pretensions to a degree of aboriginal civilization, not less wonderful for its grandeur than its rudeness!

Akin to these relics of obscure antiquity, are the round towers of Ireland, which mark another stage in the progress of architectural improvement. Of these buildings, so peculiar in their form, which appear all over the country in such numbers as to be distinctively national, and have suggested so many theories, and furnished so many occasions for antiquarian disputation, the balance of the evidence adduced inclines decidedly to the conclusion that they were Pagan monuments of sepulture and worship. Under the foundations of those which have been examined, a skeleton has been found stretched with the head to the East. Christian buildings they could not have been originally, however they may have been subsequently adopted as belfries, because no such style has ever been used in the edifices of that form of worship—a form, moreover, never known to indulge in fanciful novelties or national peculiarities, but to have held, wherever it penetrated, one catholic and uni-

versal rule in all things. At the same time these towers must have been religious in their objects or uses, or they would not be so often found in the immediate vicinity of the cairn. This fact seems to decide, and to a certain extent, their age as succeeding the cairn and preceding the church. They are all roofed with stone, a proof of building at a very early age. One of the smallest and most perfect of them is at Timahoe, in the Queen's County, where again the eye is struck by the succession of different religious edifices on the same site. Here the earthen rath, the cairn, the round tower, and the Christian church appear together—the rath and round tower perfect, the Christian church a ruin!

The next step in architecture was church building, which, beginning in wood, seems to have proceeded to uncemented stone walls with a thatched roof, and about the eighth century to have certainly reached mortared stone. Venerable Bede states that Finianus, a holy Irishman, built a church on Lindisfarne, for the bishop's see, which was formed, not of stone but of spliced oak, and thatched with reeds, after the fashion of his country,*—and Ledwich, quoting the opinion of Bishop Usher, who says that stone churches were unusual (morem insolitum†) amongst the British and Irish, refers to the old Chapel of Glastonbury, in Spelman, and to Greensted Church in Essex, as instances of the wooden and wattled churches of the ancient Irish. So far the natives of the two countries seem to have been on a level. The dimensions of these buildings were small. They were succeeded by the stone-roofed chapel, one of which, a venerable curiosity, is at Killaloe. Ledwich, following the general opinion, supposes that such small chapels were founded for the preservation of relics, and repeats the common observation, that the work is so good, and the stone so firmly embedded in well-made mortar, that even now no rain will penetrate through.

The small buildings in Glendalough show further advancement. We have here the stone roof style and other improvements, as, the church itself, the chapel for relics attached, and

* Bede, Lib. 3, c. 25. † Usser. Sillog. 737.

a first approach to a steeple, modelled, perhaps, from the round tower. The size of the church is 22 feet by 15, height 20 feet, and the thickness of the walls 3 ft. 6 in. The elevation of the tower is about 50 ft.; the entrance door is 6 ft. 8 in. high, 2 ft. 5 in. wide at top, and 2 ft. 8 in. at bottom. There was one window of sculptured freestone, which was carried away and ground into powder for domestic purposes.

The stone-roofed church continued to be built until it had attained a high degree of architectural merit. Cormac's Chapel, which forms a principal portion of that noble pile of ruins, the rock of Cashel, affords decisive proofs of the correctness of this remark. Ledwich, whose motto should have been *Nil admirari*, is content to observe that this is a curious building—he would not have exceeded the truth if he had added beautiful. Simplicity, proportion, and finished workmanship distinguish the plan and all its parts in an eminent degree. The resemblance it bears to St. Peter's Church, Oxford, with Grimbald's crypt beneath, built about the end of the ninth century, was pointed out by Ledwich, who, ever on the alert to rank Irish antiquities in the lowest grade, thinks, however, that Cormac's Chapel must be more modern. Be that as it may, its high antiquity is shown in the plan, which is not cruciform; and as no one has been bold enough to deny its existence before the English invasion, it furnishes a bright link to the chain of evidence that shows the extreme incorrectness of Sir W. Petty's remark as to architecture and the arts of ancient Ireland.

The specimen of church building presented in Cormac's Chapel would be sufficient, if it stood alone, to induce a belief that the clergy of the church of Ireland were successful patrons, not of architecture simply, but of sculpture, painting, and the other ornamental works, the cultivation of which by the Roman Catholic church throughout Europe tended to liberalise the minds of men in so eminent a degree, and to facilitate the revival of letters and the fine arts. But we do not rest for satisfactory evidence upon this point upon conjectural

inferences or Cormac's Chapel only. In other parts of Ireland ecclesiastical remains are still visible, which show that sculpture, painting, and carving in wood and metals were no unfrequent means of embellishment in that country before the year 1170. Upon the present occasion it will suffice to illustrate the truth of this remark from a few distinct quarters,—the chief of which are, the ruins of Glendalough, just spoken of, in the county of Wicklow—the abbey of Knockmoy, in the county of Galway—and the old church of Ardmore, near the round tower of the same name, in the county of Waterford.

Glendalough is one of the most striking places in the three kingdoms. Deeply embedded on all sides between high mountains, which cast a peculiar shade of gloom over its cold recesses, is a solitary valley, in which are found the ruins of seven churches, one round tower, and distinct vestiges of a town, of which only some broken stones now challenge observation. This is Glendalough—the valley of

> "The lake whose gloomy shore
> Skylark never warbles o'er——"

And whether we revert to the past, and reflect upon the vicissitudes which have so completely swept away all the buildings and the people that in far gone ages made the now still and sequestered spot busy with life and knowledge; or whether we contemplate the lofty summits of those wide-spread mountains, with their dark sides of heath and turf, and their wild untenanted wastes, frowning silently upon the lake and little river below, the place is one every way likely to produce a deep impression. It breathes the air of religious awe—there are very few scenes more truly solemn or effectively sublime. It is equally great in its associations with bygone years—their piety and learning—and in the present beauties of a scenery almost perfect in its kind.

Glendalough and Knockmoy, having been visited and described by Cambrensis, are placed beyond the reach of denial as the labour of Irish hands. Every author who has noticed them, has commemorated the merits of the ancient relics with

which they abound. The hierarchy must have been rich who built these and other such structures. They did not, however, derive their wealth from the sources by which the Roman Catholic clergy were then commonly supplied. They were not formally subjected to the Roman pontiff before the synod of Kells in 1152 ; they paid his holiness no Peter's pence, and received no tithes before the English invasion. Their kings and chiefs appear to have inflicted violent wrongs upon them. Dr. Lingard says, that for more than two centuries the metropolitan church of Armagh was occupied by individuals of the same lineage to the number of fifteen, in regular succession. Of these only six were clergymen, the rest were lay chieftains who enjoyed the substantial emoluments of the see without discharging the episcopal functions.

Amongst the ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland, no mean place is to be assigned to Psalters, and the carved boxes in which they were preserved. These have been made a subject of particular research by Sir W. Betham, Ulster King of Arms. His volume contains specimens of the style of these productions—as to their penmanship, the paintings that illustrated them, and the carved covers in which they were preserved. Of these covers or boxes, there is one in the Museum of Trinity College, Dublin, which has been described by General Vallencey; another belongs to the family of O'Donnell in Mayo; two are in the possession of Sir W. Betham, and others are known to be preserved in different places. The former are respectively named Dimma's box, the Caah, and the Meeshac. Dimma's box is so called, because the manuscript it contains is subscribed by Dimma Mac Nathi, the son of Nathi, a relative of St. Colgan, and particularly mentioned in the life of that saint as a person distinguished for his skill in penmanship. This refers the manuscript to the beginning of the seventh century. Dimma's box is of brass plated with silver, and it contains an illuminated copy of the Gospels in Latin. The Caah is a brass box 9½ inches long, with a plate of chased silver inserted into one of brass at the top.

To these evidences of the extent to which the clerical body in Ireland promoted learning and the arts, long before the English invasion, others might be added. They are uncalled for here. It must not, however, be supposed that the mode of living and habits of the Irish people generally corresponded with the degree of civilization thus manifested. Stone castles had been built and inhabited by the native Irish sovereigns, but they were far from common; their chief palaces, not excepting that of Tara, were of slight structure, but extensive dimensions. Though built in the 12th century, of plastered wood, there was often a good deal of wealth in one shape or other collected within them. We may safely affirm, that if they had been formed of substantial materials, we should be able to trace more remains of their foundation than are known to exist.

It may not be amiss to make another remark while lingering upon the subject of the primitive church of Ireland. We have spoken of its learning and its piety—we have shown that it must have been wealthy, and that beyond all doubt a liberal genius and cultivated taste directed many of its labours and survive in its monuments; but it is not to be denied that the nation did not in these respects partake of the high character of the church. This has led some writers, ill read in the authorities which decide the question, to impugn the superior reputation of the ancient church. There certainly is an apparent inconsistency between the degree of civilization evinced by the Irish people, and the benefits the Irish church is known to have conferred by her schools, which were crowded with foreigners, and her missionaries, who spread religion and philosophy through distant countries.* If we reflect a little, however, we shall be able to

* Quos omnes Scoti libentissime suscipientes victum eis quotidianum sine prætio, libros quoque ad legendum et magisterium gratuitum præbere curabant.—*Ven. Bed. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Anglican.* lib. 3, cap. 27.

Dr. Ledwich, who, though an Irishman, was perhaps as depreciating a writer as ever treated of Irish affairs, took credit to himself for making it evident that the Irish attained uncommon eminence in the 7th and 8th centuries.—*Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 312.

reconcile a contradiction more apparent than real. All priesthoods are exclusive bodies—that of the Catholic church, particularly in the earlier ages of Christianity, was mainly influenced in its systems of education, and the forms of its collegiate foundations, by a desire to make its own members accomplished. Wherever schools were opened, they were intended to enlist and prepare recruits for the church, and were frequented by no others. The instruction prepared for such persons was very different from the information, simply religious, imparted to the public. The monk within his convent relieved and diversified the long hours of confinement and prayer with occasional study, became a scholar, and transmitted his learning to his successor; while the peasant outside the walls remained as ignorant of these pursuits, and as little benefited by the mental improvement thus attained and enjoyed, as if they had never found their way to the spot. In short, monasteries were schools of sanctity and erudition, but it was the peculiar policy of their founders to withdraw from the world, and rarely to exhibit or spread abroad in society the knowledge and virtue possessed and practised within their precincts, except as examples and inducements to procure neophytes. They led a secluded life, shared nothing with their fellow men, and retained their prizes to themselves, holding them out as objects of envy and ambition to swell the number of their followers by the distinction and immunities they conferred. As no acts were considered more meritorious than monastic gifts and endowments, so the institute gained everything, the country nothing, in the way of letters. The early church taught religion, not education—and all its colleges were model schools for priests. We should not be surprised, therefore, to find in Ireland, or any other country, during the middle ages, a learned church and an illiterate people. The learning of the cloisters was like the learning of our modern universities—an accomplishment never addressed to the people at large, and neither influencing nor improving their condition. What does the shopkeeper or mechanic of Oxford or Cambridge gather or imbibe from those seats of science and

scholarship? Are they more humane, accomplished, or enlightened than the burgesses and inhabitants of other towns? Even so may we look without surprise on the ignorance imputed to the ancient Irish; while their priests taught the learned languages to foreigners, and were apostles of science and religion for successive centuries.

The great ornaments of the primitive church of Ireland were monks called Culdees, eminent, according to all Catholic and Protestant writers, for exemplary piety and knowledge. It is difficult to fix the time of their origin—the flourishing period of their career was from the beginning of the 6th to the beginning of the 8th century. They are particularly distinguished as the founders of the great monasteries of Iona and Lindisfarne, and as the missionaries who converted the inhabitants of Scotland and Northumberland to Christianity. A host of writers, from Venerable Bede down to Archbishop Usher, bear testimony to their extraordinary merits. They preferred small islands as the sites of their establishments, of which Moanincha in Burros in Ossory was highly celebrated. They were independent of Rome, and differed in many forms and ceremonies from that See. The decline of their order may be dated from the period at which the papal influence began to be felt in Ireland. Other religious societies gradually supplied their place, without preserving the character for erudition for which they were eminent.

Our accounts of the political condition of Ireland are generally clear and sufficiently authoritative. When the English arrived they found five kings in the country—those, namely, of Meath, Connaught, Ulster, Munster, and Leinster. Of these the king of Meath was the chief, or king paramount, and was entitled to take precedence and receive tribute from the others. The form of a plurality of kings appears to have originated at an early period. The rank next to royalty was that of Tanist, or king elect. Next came the Carfinny, a prince or chieftain who held his province or petty principality subject to the local sovereign, but with distinct rights to administer justice and carry on peace and war. Judges, called Brehons, Seannachies, a

a body of historiographers, genealogists, and bards, who were poets and musicians, composed the remaining orders of society. The mass of the people existed in a state of abject dependence and distress. Some were Betaghs, a sort of slave-villein or adscripti glebæ—others were freemen, but scarcely less miserable.

The character of the government, and the condition of the people, were determined by two principal laws which led and rode over all others, and kept the country ever restless, distracted and oppressed. These were, the law of tanistry, by which the kings and princes were made elective, and a land law somewhat similar to the gavelkind of England. According to the forms of tanistry, the reigning king or chieftain had no power over the succession—the son was not necessarily heir to the father, though the inheritance followed in the same blood. On the contrary, the king and tanist were elected together, the king to reign, and the tanist to guard the right of succession;—which generally meant, to succeed in the event of a vacancy, which he was too often tempted to create. All members of the family were eligible; and it is needless to add, that where the right to elect was given, the power to depose would be assumed. Incessant feuds and interminable wars flowed in a turbid stream and stormy succession from a law which was so well calculated to enable the cunning head and the strongest hand to carry all before them. The form of election, however, as has too often happened in the case of other institutions convertible to mischievous ends, is reported to have been peaceful and significant when duly observed. A public assembly was convened, generally on the hill-side; and the kings, chieftains, and principal men taking their proper stations, the new tanist was declared by acclamation. A chief then arose, and standing forth in the midst of the assembly, with a long white and unknotted wand in his hand, addressed the future potentate in such words as—"Receive this auspicious emblem of your dignity, and remember in your life and government to imitate the rod in its white purity and rectitude—being straight and without knots—so that no evil tongue

may have room to asperse the candour of your actions with blackness, no corruption prevent your justice, and no ties of friendship make it partial. Take, therefore, upon you in a lucky hour the government of this people, and exercise the power here given you with perfect freedom."

The gavelkind of Ireland was about the worst of all laws: no people could possibly advance in civilization under such a system. By that law all property was a common holding in principle, but the division was made by the chief—so that whenever the head of a sept or family died, or, as oftener happened, was violently removed, his successor distributed all the lands anew, and naturally rewarded his own followers with large shares, to the prejudice of all who had supported his enemy. The general confusion and poverty inseparable from a tenure of property at once so precarious and arbitrary, requires no comment.*

Codes of the Brehon laws of Ireland are still in existence, and from them the leading features of the judicial system of Ireland have been diligently gathered by many writers. The brehons are conceived to have belonged to particular families. They sat on the hill-side on stone chairs to hear causes and see judgment executed. Their principles of morality were lax; they admitted of compensation for murder and other crimes by a fine, called Eric; recognized no distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children; and caused the hair and beard to be shorn as ignominious punishments.

Of the remaining evidences of the condition of the Irish when invaded, the more striking are to be derived from English sources, and they are sufficiently clear upon the points to which they refer. In dress they appear to have been rather refined at an early period. We have no accounts

* These Irish laws of tanistry and gavelkind seem to have been fairly apprehended by the English Judges, who decided that the chief was seized of his territory as a lord of his demesne; that the tanist by the custom of the country was also seized of certain lands; and that the custom farther was, that every kinsman of the chief had a parcel of land to live upon, and yet that no estate passed thereby; but that the chief for the time being, by custom time out of mind, might remove the said kinsmen to other lands at his pleasure.

of half-clad Irishmen exposing their naked skin, barbarously punctured, like the inhabitants of the sister isle described by William of Malmesbury. The dresses of the kings, chiefs, brehons, bards, soldiers, and common people are preserved, and they are far from indicating poverty or a want of taste. Linen vests, cloaks, trowsers, and boots appear to have been common to all classes. They wear, says Cambrensis, moderate close capuchins, or hooded mantles, covering the shoulders and coming down to the elbows, composed of various colours and stripes, and for the most part sewed; underneath fallins or jackets, coloured trowsers and leather buskins called brogues for the feet, made of one piece, and tied with latchets round the ankles. They had long beards, and long hair behind, upon which they particularly prided themselves. Ledwich quotes an Icelandic Chronicle antecedent to the visit of Cambrensis, of the date, namely, of 1129, from Johnson's "Antiquities of the Celtic Scandinavians," by which it appears that the Irish dress at that period consisted of a shirt, trowsers tied with thongs passing under the feet, a mantle and cap.

Upon the whole, therefore, there seems to be abundant uncontradicted proofs to show that the Irish, when invaded, were by no means an uncivilized people in the article of dress. Of their mode of living, agriculture, and commerce, our means of information are not equally satisfactory. Their wealth was principally agricultural, and, as the natural fertility of the soil suggests, was of the simplest kind, being derived from pasturage rather than tillage. Their herds of cattle and flocks of sheep were, consequently, numerous and valuable. Their trade has given occasion to much disputation. It is certain that a people wearing linen and woollen cloths must have had an extensive commerce in those articles—but whether that commerce was internal and derived from native manufactures, or external and imported, it is not very easy to determine at the present day. More than one modern writer has contended that the Irish not only made but exported linen and woollen cloths. Unfortunately, there is scarcely a record or evidence upon this, as well as almost every subject illustrative of the

ancient state of the country, which has not long been swept violently away. In this respect, Ireland has suffered perhaps more severely than any other country in Europe. The Danes, in the predatory incursions they so frequently made during the 9th and 10th centuries, destroyed all the manuscripts and monuments that fell into their hands—and of the "works which escaped their ravages by far the greater part was consumed during four centuries of wars with the English." In this general dearth of information, a few incidental matters related by Cambrensis are particularly valuable. The Welsh priest tells us that Dermod Mac Murrogh repaired to Bristol, "because it was a place of frequent commercial intercourse with Ireland." Now the trade must have been considerable, which in that period would have supported a frequent intercourse. It is certain that the Irish imported slaves from Bristol: one of the excuses put forth to justify the English invasion, was the grievous extent of the Irish commerce in English slaves—a practice which had proceeded to such a height, as to be made the formal subject of ecclesiastical censure at Armagh. Are we to suppose, then, that the Irish exported cattle and imported slaves? Cambrensis also informs us, that when Fitzstephen, at the siege of Wexford, sought to intimidate the natives by burning the ships in which he arrived, he destroyed "a vessel, laden with wine and corn, lately come out of England." The same writer further commends the abundance of Poictou wine he found in Ireland, as well as its excellent usquebagh. Then we learn from other sources, that the Irish brewed ale and had corn mills at this period. The ecclesiastical muniments for the foundation and endowment of churches and monasteries, preserved in various publications, make frequent mention of the tithes on ale, and of the mills upon the lands so transferred.

The best numismatic writers concur in stating that we have no specimens of money coined by the native Irish, and that the only mints established in the country were Danish and English. All the old coins found in the country bear the stamp either of the Dane or the Norman. Nevertheless, it

appears certain that the Irish, though they may not have minted money, were rich in gold and silver. The old annalists and ecclesiastical writers often speak of ounces of gold and silver paid in large quantities, either by way of tribute, ransom, or gifts to the church. The Irish also had many ornaments wrought in the precious metals—such as gold chains, collars, bracelets, and rings. How far these were, either wholly, or in part, of Irish manufacture, it seems now impossible to establish by positive evidence. At the same time, the fair presumption, in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, unquestionably is, that the natives were skilled in the workmanship of metals, and made their own ornaments and weapons.

Brave as the Irish unquestionably were, they ranked as a military people, at the time of the invasion, behind the rest of Europe. Their arms were few, and their defences simple. They fought with the sword and shield, the spear and a battle axe, and wore no mail. This fact, more than any other, leads us to conclude that the intercourse between Ireland and the rest of Europe was by no means intimate. Had it been otherwise, we should be able to find some traces of chivalry amongst a people naturally so high spirited and enthusiastic; and we should also find the Irish warrior, who has never fought without honour, sometimes leading the van in the crusades. This, however, is not the case: the Irish appear to have had no chivalry, and to have taken no part in the crusades. They were thus cut off from the two great sources of European refinement during the middle ages; and it is in all probability to the wants which they sustained and the inferiority which they betrayed, when compared with the English in this respect, that we are to ascribe the low estimate formed of their civilization by all but native authors.

There is an accomplishment, however—music—in which the Irish have always been allowed to excel. Cambrensis dwells at great length, and with the highest praise, upon the state in which he found this art cultivated in Ireland. He declares that the Irish were incomparably before every other nation

with which he was acquainted, and eminently distinguished by their skill in symphony and execution.* In his time the instruments in use were the harp, drum, and a sort of bells called Crotals, which were chiefly used in the service of the church. The harp of Brian Boroim is preserved in Trinity College, Dublin; the very instrument used by the ancient Irish is thus to be judged of. The bagpipe, by general consent, is regarded as a modern invention, and it is curious to remark that the harp—certainly the national instrument—is no longer in common use. The bagpipe alone now furnishes the music of the country and the common people; the harp is scarcely ever met with out of the houses of the gentry, and even by them it is not practised as generally as its beauty and nationality deserve.

The high state of cultivation in which we find the art of music amongst the ancient Irish is not to be ascribed merely to the natural genius of the people. The bards were a privileged order of men, enjoying consideration in society, and specially retained as members of the state retinue of kings and chieftains. The influence which men thus honoured would naturally acquire in society, aided by the popular influence of their art, would necessarily stimulate them to great proficiency. In early ages, they were not musicians only, but poets and historians, delivering down from age to age the national annals, and the achievements of the great families, their patrons, in verses which they sung or recited to music. In this respect the Irish claim the same origin and occupation for their bards, which the early history of the poetry of almost all nations ascribes to a similar race of songsters. In Ireland, however, the bard retained his position and his power to a later period than in other countries. Spenser found the Irish bard in the sixteenth century an influential member of society, held in the highest regard. It was his "profession to set

* Præ omni natione quam vidimus incomparabiliter instructa est. Mirum quod in tanta tam præcipiti digitorum rapacitate musica seriatim proportio et arte per omnia indemni inter crispatos modulos, organaque multipliciter intricata, tam suavi velocitate, tam impari paritate, tam discordi concordia consona redditur et completur melodia.

forth the praises or dispraises of men; and none dared displease him, for fear to run into reproach, and be made infamous in the mouths of all men." Spenser caused their poems to be translated; and he confesses that "they surely savored of sweet wit and good invention, but skilled not of the goodly ornaments of poetry; yet were they sprinkled with some pretty flowers of their natural device which gave good grace and comeliness unto them." In other respects, the author of the "Faery Queen" is not so eulogistic of his brother poets. "They seldom," he adds, "choose unto themselves the doings of good men for the arguments of their poems, but whomsoever they found to be most licentious of life, most bold and lawless in his doings, most dangerous and desperate in all parts of disobedience and rebellious daring, him they set up and glorify in their rithms, him they praise to the people, and to young men make an example to follow." This character the bard continued to preserve for some time after the wars of Elizabeth's reign, but as the power of the old Irish families was broken, the glories of the bard faded away and became gradually extinct. Like the ivy, however, that continues green after the oak that supported it has lost life and sap, the bard survived for awhile the ruin of the families whose favourite he had been. We find him lingering on until the eighteenth century, when Carolan, the last of his order, flourished. With him, the only link connecting the ancient usages of Ireland with modern time, may be said to have passed away; and it is pleasing to add, that both as a poet and a musician the last Irish bard was not unworthy of the race from which he was descended.

Upon the whole, the state of Ireland, when the English crossed the sea to seize upon the island, must be held to have been, in all the essential points of government, as well as in its civil and religious institutions, of a kind to render either greatness or happiness unattainable by the people, and a successful resistance to the invader impossible on the part of their pentarchy. The number of those co-ordinate kings,*

* These different kingdoms, each ruled by its petty sovereign, will pro-

the absolute power of each, the dependence of the church upon their arbitrary will, the law of tanistry, which, as soon as a carfinny or chief was adopted by the popular voice, set up in the tanist elect, a rival panting to succeed, and therefore prompt to depose, the ruling authority; the Brehon law of gavelkind promulgating the doctrine of a community of property, but leaving the application of the rule to the strong hand of power—these laws and customs tended to keep some of the worst passions of human nature constantly in a state of excited action, to unsettle the best relations of kindred and property, and to involve all men and all things in the incessant swell and turmoil of apprehension, violence, and change.

It is as a consequence of this defective constitution of things—a constitution rife with the elements of internal division and national weakness,—and not through any want of bravery or strength in the great body of the people, that we find the Danes settled, when the English arrived, in the best parts of the island, and possessed of civil and religious powers and immunities, which the Irish resented, but could not refuse. The tenacity with which, under every change of cir-

bably suggest doubts to many readers of the validity of the pretensions to a high state of civilization in remote ages so minutely and complacently described by the Irish annalists. It might, perhaps, be contended that the same reasoning would also lead us to deny the claims to a high antiquity set up by the same authorities. But the second conclusion would not be equally legitimate with the first. Society may continue to subsist under very simple modifications and the rudest forms of government for an unlimited period. The inhabitants of a country are not necessarily shown to be new as a nation, and to possess no title to ancient descent, when their manners of life and mode of government are found to be wholly inartificial. But the case is altered when the question of refined civilization is raised. Of that the form of government and the character of the institutions of a country afford a fair and decisive test. All the accounts transmitted to us of the origin of nations impress upon the mind a belief that principalities constituted one of the earliest conditions in which mankind were brought under control, and rendered submissive to authority. At first, the principality, in point of fact, was little more than a natural extension of the rule of a father over his family. The number of principalities in a country may, therefore, be properly referred to as so many proofs that the people amongst whom they are found, although not therefore necessarily new, have at least profited but little by the general history of the human species, and the progress of civil institutions in realms beyond their own.

cumstances, those hardy pirates clung to the sea-ports, and retained a potent interest in Ireland, is one amongst the many curious incidents in the history of the country. Even Brian Boroim, famous for his victory over them at Clontarf, A.D. 1014, did not succeed in ejecting them from their old positions. Peter Walsh,* who wrote his "Prospect of Ireland" upon the authority of Gratianus Lucius and Keating, two very decided members of the patriotic school of authors, bears direct testimony to this fact. Separate lands appear to have been reserved as the territory of the Ostmen, who were ruled over by their own princes, and so far differed from the Irish church as to send their bishops to England for consecration. Important rights and privileges these, which it is not reasonable to suppose that the Irish would have granted if they could have withheld. The English found it prudent to ratify and continue them; but ere long the Danes ceased to appear as a distinct race in Ireland.

* "About the end of Brian Boraimh's reign the kingdom of Ireland being all over in peace, and flourishing with all earthly blessings under him, and no more Danes in the land, but such a certain number of artificers, handicraftsmen and merchants in Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork and Limerick, as he thought and knew could be mastered at any time if they should rebel."—*Prospect of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 347.

CHAPTER III.

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF THE CONNECTION WITH ENGLAND.

THE INVASION. — PROPERLY SPEAKING, NO SUCH THING AS A GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND FOR SUCCESSIVE CENTURIES.—ENGLISH BARONS AND IRISH CHIEFS FOUGHT FOR ASCENDANCY, AND BOTH UNITED AGAINST THE CROWN WHENEVER IT INTERFERED TO REDUCE THEM TO ORDER OR SUBMISSION.—THE CHURCH OF ROME AND THE IRISH CLERGY ABANDONED THE PEOPLE IN THEIR STRUGGLE WITH THE INVADERS.—SAVAGE CRUELTIES OF BOTH ENGLISH AND IRISH.—STRONGBOW, FITZSTEPHEN, FITZGERALD, RAYMOND LE GROS, HENRY II., JOHN.—INJURIOUS DISTRIBUTION OF THE COUNTIES BY HENRY II., AND AGAIN BY JOHN, TO THEIR FOLLOWERS, WHOSE POSSESSIONS AND PRIVILEGES WERE INCOMPATIBLE WITH GOOD GOVERNMENT.

Almost all authors who have hitherto written the History of Ireland, have fallen into a common error. Because the History of England relates, in books and chapters, divided according to the successive reigns of the kings who ascended the throne, the acts performed, and the occurrences evolved while they were in power, it has been assumed that a corresponding distribution of events, and a constant recognition of the same governing rule of action, are to be observed with propriety in narrating the affairs of Ireland. But there is this radical difference between the cases of the two countries;—in the one the king did reign and govern—in the other he did not. The facts themselves, and their spirit also, are completely falsified, when the history of Ireland is represented as a history of the administrations of the various sovereigns who held, for centuries together, the parchment titles of lords and kings of Ireland. The letter of the law, it is true, gave the right of sovereignty, and vindicated its assertion; but the right, however formally set up, was long not really enjoyed. For generation

after generation, the kingly authority in Ireland, like the effigy in the sister country, which was placed by way of ornament upon the coffin of the deceased monarch, when his body lay in state, was no more than the unsubstantial type of nominal greatness, and the emblem of a power that no longer existed.

This first misconception as to the true materials and proper mode of treating Irish history, has, up to a very recent period, led to a long maze of error and confusion. Setting out with a false guide, and mistaking an hypothesis for a principle, writer after writer has gone blindly forward, and never fallen upon the right path. That there was no one, during the long interval comprised by the ages which have passed from the invasion to the present time, clear-sighted enough to penetrate the truth, is not to be supposed; but truth, when particularly disagreeable, is generally either suppressed altogether, or so mystified and distorted as not to be easily recognized. For an uninterrupted series of centuries, a correct narrative of Irish affairs would have detracted from the reputation of the monarch, and offended the pride of a great people: on that account no such narrative was presented by popular English writers.* During

* This general remark is not to be received without special limitations. The Baron Finglas, Sir J. Daves, and even Spencer,—but particularly Sir John,—bore memorable testimony to the true state of Ireland, and laid bare, with considerable ability, many pregnant causes of its misgovernment and distress. It may be doubted, however, whether their works were as well known as they deserved to be; and it is certain that they produced no immediate effect. Hume, who, however fairly he may be found fault with for inaccuracy of detail and occasional partiality, possessed extraordinary powers of comprehension and judgment as a political writer —taking, in all his views, the widest range of observation, and deriving from it inexpressibly correct and profound impressions—Hume unquestionably saw the history of Ireland in its true light; but he entertained an ill-concealed contempt for the subject, and evidently did not think it worth his while to develop it. In our own time, an admirable analysis of the legal history of Ireland has been drawn in a single chapter by the learned author of the "Constitutional History of England." Nor have the events of Irish history failed to meet with able modern authors: these have been correctly distributed, according to their true bearings, into correct epochs, by Doctor Cooke Taylor, in his "History of the Civil Wars of Ireland," a very meritorious little work, which condenses clearly the facts of Irish history, as they occurred, into a small compass. Later still, Mr. Moore, as observed in another note, has collected all the information that diligent research and patient criticism could bring forward to throw light upon the history of his country.

by far the greater portion of the period referred to, any man bold enough to assert that the king did not really govern Ireland, would have been seized as a disloyal libeller, and mutilated on the pillory, if not gibbeted at Tyburn, or beheaded at the Tower. What, nevertheless, are the plain facts? From the invasion of Henry II. to the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, it is impossible to distinguish any thing that deserves the name, or answered the purposes, of a government in Ireland. The English barons, who obtained land in the country, fought for superiority over the Irish kings and chieftains, or against each other, and held a barbaric supremacy, now one and now another, as numbers, extent of possessions, violence, and stratagem happened to favour their quarrels. Force of arms being their first and common title to their estates, they recognized no other means of strengthening or increasing the stake they enjoyed than the sword which had carved it out; and they were ever ready to turn that weapon against the king their master, or each other, upon the slightest fear of injury, or the most distant hope of gain. Adventurer followed adventurer upon the teeming field of Irish attack and spoliation; and each in his turn, as he seized his tract of land, set himself up to be what the original Irish chief had been—the master of life and death upon his own estate, and the possessor of despotic and, often, royal power.

For no less a period than 400 years, the invaders, alike unable to reduce the native chiefs to submission, or to compose their own jealousies, continued to maintain a brutal warfare for the division of the plunder which it was impiously pretended that God and the church had given to their arms. The long reign of Elizabeth favoured the royal authority in an eminent degree, by enabling that vigorous woman to prosecute a series of well-aimed measures for the subjugation of the country and its various potentates. At one time the irresistible force of stern perseverance, and an unscrupulous sacrifice of blood and money, seemed to have reduced all parties and factions, indigenous and immigrant, to a comparatively decent state of allegiance; but the success was transitory and unreal. Vast

interests were destroyed—potent families crushed—and peace prevailed, but it was the peace of desolation. A general civil war broke out in a few years afterwards, in which the Irish chieftain and the English baron fought side by side as confederated opponents of the royal authority. The horrors of all former conflicts and insurrections were again repeated in their most aggravated forms; for religion, which during successive centuries of incessant violence does not appear to have ever once exercised the benignant influence belonging to her character, in composing dissensions, stopping the effusion of blood, or in succouring law and justice, had now been introduced as a keen and active promoter of the general insubordination. To the hatred of hostile races, the fierce jealousy of rival modes of divine worship was superadded, and the strife that had been savage became henceforward demoniacal. At length Oliver Cromwell, after laying monarchy a headless trunk in the dust in England, threw himself upon Ireland, at the head of an army of disciplined fanatics; and finding few friends, supporters, or well-wishers in that country, rushed over its devoted surface with the destructive rage of a fiery scourge, and swept all before him into general ruin. To him, the native Irish and English settler—the Catholic and the Protestant—were alike hateful and hostile; and he gave them, one and all, up indifferently to the sword, casting their goods to the flames, and their lands to the despoiler, with an indiscriminating cruelty and hardened impartiality unparalleled in history.

Thus prostrated, the Irish party suffered much, but the old English party more: in point of fact, the rude, domineering sway of the barons never recovered the deadening shock which Cromwell dealt it. But though greatly humbled and enfeebled, they were still powerful enough to prevent a perfect re-establishment of the king's government upon the restoration of Charles II. From that time forward we find them indefatigably employed in retarding the slow approach to constitutional order, which they no longer dared to resist with open force. This conduct, in process of time, led to an obdurate system, devised and maintained by the great possessors of

land, against which the royal authority, and the growing influence of the constitution, proved equally unavailing. The aristocracy banded themselves into a faction, and succeeded in rendering the country still a means of greatness to themselves, and of weakness to the empire. In this proceeding, a refined use was made of the last element of mischief that had been thrown into the agitated sea of Irish discontent; and for three centuries, religious animosities—not yet, unfortunately, altogether appeased—convulsed the land, and afforded the leading members of a few great families an opportunity, of which they availed themselves enormously, to turn the dissensions of the people against the peace and prosperity of the country, and secure to themselves all the power and patronage that were to be derived from "*managing it*"—(for such was the expression)—for the ministry in London.

Certain families were recognized as "*undertakers.*" The Boyles or Beresfords, for instance, having considerable interest and influence, undertook the office of governing Ireland upon certain terms, which were always matter of arrangement with the English cabinet. Once the compact was entered into, the latter abandoned the administration to the undertakers, and gave themselves no further concern in the affairs of the country. The more the religious sects, in contending with each other, committed crimes and follies, the more the great aristocratic job prospered, and entailed afflicting consequences. Heavy was the punishment which Ireland was doomed to undergo as the penalty of religious dissension, excited by severe task-masters, who, studious only of their own gain, cared nothing, while that was secured, for the country itself. They were men who never once laboured to bring out—but, on the contrary, sought rather to depreciate and keep down—the national interests. They perceived, that according to the degree in which they suppressed and extinguished the rights and privileges to which the constitution gave a title, they retained more facile and resistless instruments of personal emolument and family aggrandisement. Thus, while the penal law prevented the Catholic from holding land, the commercial law

would not permit even the Protestant to trade abroad. On the same iniquitous principle, sharp restrictions and impolitic regulations were imposed upon manufactures and internal commerce, by which all ranks, sects, and interests were injured and depressed in common. In this way the grossest wrongs were accumulated upon the country, from which at last relief crept tardily in, as the administration of the central government and the legitimate influence of the British constitution began to penetrate the country, and extend itself equally into all places and amongst all classes. Of that great and generous work, desired for centuries, commenced many years ago, now far advanced, but as yet uncompleted, it is gratifying to know, that broad as is the line of demarcation between the two great parties into which politics have divided the statesmen and people of these dominions, each has nevertheless, of late years, contributed in a conspicuous manner its share of service towards the consummation which, it is to be hoped, we are, however tardily, at last approaching. In placing the Roman Catholics upon a constitutional level with their fellow-subjects in the other parts of the empire, the leaders and ornaments of both parties appeared so nearly agreed in the main principles upon which Ireland should be governed, that there is now little more required than a steady, moderate, and impartial application of the equal laws which all concur in thinking should be in force, to insure to Ireland the possession and profitable enjoyment of every advantage to which nature, circumstances, or their own energies can entitle, adapt, or advance her inhabitants.

That this happy condition might have been attained with ease ere now, can hardly be denied; for the causes which have stood in the way, and prevented its accomplishment, might at any time have been soon found, if they had been seriously sought for. They lie at the surface, and meet the eye upon a slight inspection of the ground. They are the last lingering remains of a system which no statesman will venture publicly to defend, though some do not scruple privately to uphold. To show how they come to be continued, it is necessary to

relate how they sprang up, and grew strong. They are the direct products of the peculiar form of misgovernment under which Ireland has suffered. They are to be deduced, with logical precision, from their premises; and thus a short abstract and review of the history of Ireland becomes here unavoidable. According to the sense in which that history is read, will the actual state of the country be well or ill apprehended. He who understands the true nature of the policy upon which it has been governed, will perceive the reality of the effects it is the object of these pages to expose; and he only will be qualified to judge with clearness and impartiality of the improvements most imperatively required, and, most essential of all, of the measures which we should be most careful never to reproduce.

We proceed to show then, that the history of Ireland is, in the main, the history of a few great families, originally holding independent principalities of a feudal character, rivalling each other in the extension of their extravagant immunities and unbounded possessions; and as these were in the lapse of time wrested with difficulty from them, still forging bolts and barriers for the preservation of their power and ascendancy under a new form. By these men were the pits and channels dug into which the tide of Irish events was precipitated for ages; and so strong and turbulent was the current, while choked as well as directed by their contrivance, that though broken in its course, and dispersed into many different streams, it absorbed and confounded, now in one torrent and now in another, the various fortunes of the first proprietors, and the fate of the country they strove to make their own.

While surveying this wild scene, another image forces itself strongly upon the mind. We are not only struck by the bold and irregular features of the landscape, but observe that the plan, as it were, of a fit mansion to crown it, and form the proper inducement to its reclamation, was formed at an early period. We mark the site chosen, the ground dug for the foundations, the scaffolding raised, and various materials of the best description brought abundantly together for the work. Yet after

the lapse of ages, no building appears: something of the plan has been preserved, and the scaffolding is still standing; but further progress has not been made. During all this long interval, however, architects without number or interruption have been employed; and one has varied the plan—another put up a shed: now an effort has been hastily made to construct one detached portion, and now another, as a favourable opportunity invited, or the pressure of circumstances demanded; and around this irregular, incomplete, and unsightly piece of patchwork, the old scaffolding rotting into ruins is still to be traced, marking in its ruined outline how stately and perfect was the edifice contemplated by the original plan, and encouraged by the local circumstances.

The invasion of Ireland, like the siege of Troy, seems to have been intimately connected with an affair of gallantry. The story is characteristic: Dermod Mac Murrogh, a man powerful both as to extent of possession and personal qualities, who swayed the broad domains reaching from Dublin to Wexford southward and westward, as far as the bounds of Limerick, with the title of King of Leinster, fell in love with Dervorgal, the young and lovely wife of O'Rorke, an aged prince who governed Breffny (now Leitrim). Dermod appears to have been that description of person not unfrequently considered pleasing to the fair. He had a good figure, great bodily strength, was brave and boastful, and a favourite with the lower orders and the clergy, whose regard he conciliated by profuse liberality. Cambrensis,* who knew him, describes him

* The first account of the English invasion was written by Gerald Barry, a Welsh priest, who, after the fashion of his own and a later age, is generally known and quoted by the name of Giraldus Cambrensis. He was related to the Fitzgeralds, and visited Ireland twice,—once, out of curiosity, in 1171, in their company; and afterwards as preceptor to John, when created, by his father, lord of Ireland. Altogether he spent eighteen months in the country, employing a friend, Bertrand, when he left it, to collect information for six months after. He occupied five years in writing five books, of which, when published, he confessed himself inordinately vain, anticipating from them fame throughout all ages.

"Ore legar populi, perque omnia secula, fama,
Si quid habent veri vatum præsidia, vivam.

As soon as they were completed he repaired to Oxford, and imitating

thus :—" Dermod was a man of tall stature and great body ; a valiant and bold warrior in his nation ; by constantly hallooing and crying out, his voice had become hoarse ; he chose to be feared rather than loved ; oppressed his nobility greatly, but greatly supported and advanced the poor and weak. To his own kindred he was rough and grievous, and hateful to strangers ; he would be against all men, and all men were against him." According to the manuscript in the library of Lambeth Palace,—hitherto, but no longer unanimously, ascribed to his secretary O'Regan,—he had invaded O'Neil in the North, Mac Colman in Meath, O'Carroll and O'Rorke in Breffny. From the three first he took hostages ; from O'Rorke, alone, he and his men suffered a defeat ; so that while he wooed the wife, he had cause to hate the husband. Having once entertained this passion, he appears to have been neither slow nor scrupulous in finding means to gratify it. He pursued his love so fervently, by letters and messengers, that in the end Dervorgal sent him word that she was willing to yield, and appointed a time and place at which she would be found. Dermod accordingly assembled his forces, and falling upon O'Rorke's territory during his temporary absence, carried off his wife. After spoiling the country, he returned to his

the style of the classical authors of Greece, he read the five books aloud in a formal meeting of the sitting, continued for three successive days, of the Faculties and the public. On each day he gave a grand entertainment, —the first was devoted to the public generally ; the second to the doctors, professors, and principal scholars ; the third to the scholars, military, and burgesses. Irish writers have covered this work with indignant censures, but it condemns itself ; the ignorance it displays, as that the Shannon empties itself northwards into the sea, and the fables with which it abounds, are such as no man of sense and reflection could put upon paper. The author himself gave the finishing touch to its fate, by publishing before his death a series of retractations. All this is commented upon with refined severity by the Abbé Mac Geoghan. Nevertheless, admitting the greater part of what has been urged against him to be true,—admitting moreover that he abounds in fables, ignorant mistakes, and strong prejudices,—there will still be found much in Cambrensis well deserving our notice. He knew most of the leading men embarked in the enterprise personally ; he witnessed many important events ; his description of the state of the country and its institutions is in many respects full of instruction ; and upon the whole, in the dearth of cotemporary authorities, he would be a self-sufficient writer who would altogether reject so direct a witness as the old priest of St. David's.

capital, Ferns, crowned with victory and love,* in both of which he rioted undisturbed. But O'Rorke was not disposed to bear his wrongs tamely. He addressed himself to Turloch O'Connor, the sovereign monarch, and complaining, full of grief and rage, of the wrong done to him, and the scorn that followed it, entreated help and vengeance. O'Connor favoured the suit; and Mac Murrogh was compelled to restore the frail wife, and make compensation for his violence.

So far all was well; but as peace never prevailed for any length of time, Dermod soon found himself congenially mixed up in new hostilities, from which, in the first instance, he derived considerable advantages. The sovereign king, Turloch O'Connor, died, and was succeeded by O'Lachlan, head of a rival family, whose partisans were immediately rewarded with large accessions to their territories. Amongst these, Mac Murrogh was especially favoured. Ossory, Meath, Dublin, Wicklow, Carlow and Wexford were declared to be his permanent dominions; and he was preparing to attack O'Rorke afresh, and regain Dervorgal, when one of those revolting acts of mixed cruelty and treachery so characteristic of the period turned the odds entirely against his party, and led to unexpected reverses. O'Lachlan had ter-

* If Cambrensis is to be relied upon, our Irish Helen was of a very amorous temperament, and so warm as to be won with ease. She not only desired, but promoted the abduction, and "being fickle and inconstant as women always are," contrived to make herself an easy prey to the spoiler. "Rapta nimirum fuit, quia et rapui voluit. Et quoniam varium et mutabile semper fœmina, ut prœdoni prœda fieret ipsa procuravit." The Regan account tallies with this:—she prayed him to come "so strongly that he might by force carry her away."

Apropos of abductions—the spirit of our Irish Helen does not seem to be altogether extinct. Amongst the witnesses examined before the Lords' Committee upon the State of Crime in Ireland, in 1839, was Mr. Tomkins Brew, a stipendiary magistrate, who stated, that reported abductions made a part of the crimes committed in Ireland, but that it is generally the girls that run away with the men. The girl, it appears, says to the man she fancies, "If you don't carry me off before such a day, Jack So-and-so will." Such evidently is the Cambrensis case of the Princess Dervorgal, who was "carried off, because she wished to be carried off." This witness added, that if he had permission, he could give a very laughable account of some of the abductions. We are not told whether this offer was accepted or not; at any rate, no particulars of the proffered amusement have been made public by their lordships.

minated a quarrel with Dunlevy, prince of Ulad (now Down), by a formal treaty; notwithstanding which, he soon after seized upon the unfortunate man when unprepared for attack, threw him into prison, and there tore out his eyes. A host of chieftains, inflamed to vengeance by this savage outrage, flew to arms. O'Lachlan was slain in battle. His race became ingloriously extinct, and Roderic O'Connor assumed the chief sovereignty without a contest.

One of the first acts of the new monarch was to reward the attachment of the prince of Breffny, long the particular ally of his family, and an apprehensive observer of the recent enlargement of Mac Murrogh's dominions. In this operation, O'Connor met with cordial support from the immediate chiefs of the territories which O'Lachlan had added to the kingdom of Leinster. It is not to be supposed that much difficulty was experienced in prevailing upon these men to turn their forces against a superior for whom they cherished neither affection nor duty, and whose enlarged dominions were the spoil of their own domains. The odium in which Mac Murrogh's personal character had long been held, loosened from the bonds in which fear had restrained it, broke out with fatal effects. The combination against him seems to have been followed with universal success as soon as it was formed. The kings of Meath and Ossory, Hescuph Mac Turkill, the Danish prince of Dublin, and O'Byrne, head of the ruling sept in Wicklow—all Dermod's tributaries—were no sooner known to have united against him, than he found himself forsaken, not only by his other dependents, but also by his kinsmen, friends, and servants. Of this desperate condition, a distinct picture is suggested in the O'Regan manuscript, in which Mac Murrogh is described as taking horse to ride and speak to O'Byrne, as the only person likely to retain for him some feelings of regard and confidence. But the idea is quickly abandoned. Guilty and forlorn, he evidently feels that he is nowhere safe; and returning to Ferns, takes up his residence in the abbey there. He calls the abbot to his council, and procures him to write a letter to O'Byrne, soli-

citing a meeting. The letter is subscribed, and despatched by a monk. Mac Murrogh follows dejected and concealed. The monk discharges the trust imposed upon him so aptly that he finds O'Byrne at a wood-side, and places the letter in his hand. Mac Murrogh now shows himself; but the moment he is recognized O'Byrne menaces him to depart, or he will repent his visit; and the fallen monarch, hopeless of moving his irritated subject to succour or compassion, retires as he is bid. Despair, not unmixed with violent feelings of wanton revenge, now seized upon his mind. Fearing to be betrayed, and delivered up by his people to O'Connor, he resolves to abandon his country—sets fire to Ferns—and gathering the few followers, sixty in number, who remained faithful to him in these reverses, he flies with them and his secretary to the sea-side, and straight makes sail for Bristol. This was in the summer of 1167; and it is mentioned—as if to show how little the fugitive was respected, or rather how utterly he was repudiated by all classes of his subjects—that amongst the companions of his flight there was only one person of family or note. His name has been preserved,—it was Awliff O'Kennedy.

A man of Dermod's hot and overbearing nature ill brooked the loss of a kingdom and the inactivity of exile. He landed, with a ready scheme and prepared plan, resolved to solicit the aid of the king of England; and with that view left Bristol for Aquitaine, where Henry II. was then detained by the troubled state of his French possessions. For this step Dermod had several precedents: it was not an uncommon practice with the Irish monarchs, when defeated in the intestine wars they so frequently waged against each other, to fly abroad and induce foreigners, who were known to aspire to the conquest of their country, to become the abettors of a new revolution for the recovery of their lost power. How far the feudal king of Leinster, when he took this step, was aware of some views entertained by the politic sovereign of the sister country, it is not easy to determine with accuracy. It is, nevertheless, certain that Henry's ambitious eyes had been for some time

keenly fixed upon Ireland, and that he had already taken preparatory measures, designed and executed with singular foresight and ability, for the annexation of that kingdom to his other extensive dominions.

The nature and consequences of these measures do not appear to have attracted the attention their magnitude deserves. The comparative facility with which a few military adventurers obtained a footing in Ireland, which in a short time led to a general recognition of the English sovereign, is not less surprising than the difficulty which they afterwards experienced in turning their first advantages, so promptly obtained, into a substantial property. It did not occupy more than three years to carry out Henry's claim to the kingdom of Ireland, but it required more than four centuries to perfect the title. The solution of this problem is mainly to be found in the reluctance of the Irish clergy to support their falling countrymen, when resisting the English crown. Henry took his first title from the Pope; the Irish bishops and priests bowed to the head of their church, and for a length of time stood against the people in the disastrous contest that followed. Had it been otherwise—had the zeal of the national church and the influence of religion been brought to bear against the invaders—the victory, in all probability, would have been decided as it has been in almost every other instance in which those great auxiliaries have been heartily enlisted. As it was, the part taken by the Pope and the Irish hierarchy* in the

* Take, as proof of the effect produced upon the clergy by the Pope's interference, the conduct of Lawrence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin at the time of the invasion, and afterwards a canonized saint in the Calendar of the Roman Catholic Church. The efforts of this prelate in opposing the English were energetic, until the papal bulls were brought forward at the Synod of Cashel, when he submitted to their authority, acknowledged the title of the invader, and renounced further hostility to his pretensions. The great change thus wrought in Archbishop Lawrence is noticed by Mr. D'Alton—"Lives of the Archbishops of Dublin"—who relates that, "upon the first invasion of the Welsh adventurers, Lawrence adhered firmly to the independence of his country, and encouraged the inhabitants of Dublin to a vigorous defence against the invaders." Again, when Hesculph the Dane, whom the English had expelled from Dublin, arrived in its harbour with 30 ships and a numerous train to reassert his rights, the

invasion, determined to a marked extent the fortune of the enterprise. We are led to this conclusion by a few but very decisive facts which particularly challenge the attention of modern statesmen. If, at the period of the first connection formed between the two countries, the crown and the church combined sufficed to effect the subjugation of popular princes and a whole people,—it may well be worth while to consider what may be the consequences of the union at present subsisting between the hierarchy of that church and the great majority of the people who are still in communion with it; how far its bishops and priests, if they perseverve in the course they have of late so energetically pursued, are likely to succeed in atoning for the indifference shown by their order to the liberties of their country centuries ago, by now applying all their influence to obtain, not merely its political regeneration, but its independence also.

The church of Ireland, celebrated at an early age for learning and the piety of its members, was one of the last Christian communities of the world that became dependent upon the see of Rome. It was not until the 12th century that an apostolic legate was known to exist in Ireland; and the earliest investiture of Irish bishops by the Pope's pall took place at the Synod of Kells in 1152. Henry, well acquainted with the temper and policy of the See of Rome, turned these events to his account with great sagacity. He commenced a negotiation at Rome, of which the basis was—that he should possess Ireland, and guarantee to the Pope that supremacy over the Irish church, and revenue from the Irish people, from which

archbishop, "considering that much national good might result from opposing the power of the new invaders by that of the old, became most zealous in his appeals to the native princes to promote Hesculph's project; and his devoted patriotism and the sanctity of his character gave great weight to his exhortations. The people rose in arms to his call, collected all their strength, surrounded Dublin by land, while the Dane occupied the harbour, and threatened the hitherto victorious Strongbow with total annihilation. * * * * Even Archbishop Lawrence communicated the inspiration of his character to this cause, and gliding amidst the ranks of war, animated tbe several septs of his countrymen to the assertion of their common liberties."—*Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin*, by John D'Alton, Esq., pp. 56, 57.

his Holiness had been hitherto excluded. The contract was concluded by a bull of Pope Adrian, an Englishman, in 1156, which was explicitly confirmed after the invasion by his successor, Pope Alexander III., in 1172. The language used in both these documents is full and peremptory. "There is, in sooth," says Adrian, "no doubt that Ireland, and every island upon which the Sun of Justice, Christ, hath shone, belong of right to St. Peter and the most holy Roman church, as your Highness also acknowledges; and therefore we the more willingly ingraft upon them a faithful plantation, and the seed agreeable to God, inasmuch as we foresee, upon internal examination, that the same will be more directly exacted of us. You have signified to us, dearest son in Christ, that it is your wish to enter upon the island of Ireland for the purpose of subduing the people there to law, and extirpating its nursery of vice, and that you wish to pay to blessed Peter the yearly pension of one penny for each house, and to preserve the rights of the churches of that land untouched and whole; we, therefore, following your pious and laudable desire with concurrent favour, and meeting your petition with a kind assent, hold it fit and agreeable, that for the purposes of extending the bounds of the church, &c. &c., you should enter upon that island, and pursue what shall be for the honour of God and the salvation of the country; and let the people receive you honourably, and obey you as their Lord," &c.

Alexander was even less reserved in his language:—"Following," he says, "in the steps of the venerable Pope Adrian, we ratify and confirm the grant he made you of the dominion of the kingdom of Ireland, saving to blessed Peter and the most holy church the annual pension of a penny from each house, in Ireland also as in England—so that by cleansing away the impurities of the land, that barbarous nation, considered Christian in name,* may through your dispensation improve

* "The decrees of the Synod of Cashel, convened for the purpose of carrying these bulls into execution, do not, according to Plowden, D'Alton, and others, bear out the heavy imputations cast upon the character of the Irish church; but seem rather to indicate that the real defects which the establishment was conceived to labour under, consisted not so

its morals, and its hitherto unformed church being brought into form, the people may by your means, for the future, gain the name of professing Christianity with effect."

This second bull was issued in 1172, after the preceding one had been acted upon, and when Henry was in armed occupation of the grant which they both conferred upon him. During the same year, the Irish clergy assembled solemnly together, and voted away their country to the invader, without a dissentient voice, upon no better authority than that furnished by these foreign instruments.

In this bargain and sale of Ireland, we are at a loss which to condemn most severely—the iniquity of the acts performed, or the hypocrisy of the persons performing them. That Henry, in appealing to the Pope, was moved by religious zeal, or conscientiously recognized the right to temporal power assumed by the successors of St. Peter, no well informed man will believe. The whole proceedings of his reign contradict the supposition. That the Pope consulted his own interest, and sought to secure an addition to the revenues and an increase of the patronage of his see of Rome, is evident upon the face of the facts; and that the Irish clergy were won over to sacrifice their country, and betray their lawful rulers, by a grant of tithes, which, though imposed in 1152, were now definitively

much in a want of purity of doctrine, or in laxity of discipline, as in the absence of as much power, and as many privileges, upon the part of the ecclesiastics, as their order had obtained in other countries. Several canons were established for the prevention of marriages within certain degrees of kindred, the more solemn administration of baptism, the due payment of parochial tithes, the immunity of church lands and of the clergy from secular exactions, the distribution of the property of deceased persons according to their wishes solemnly avowed before death, with a priest as a necessary witness, or an equitable division in case of no such avowal, the administration of the last rites to the dying, the regulation of burials, and the conformity of Divine service in Ireland to that in England; while it is very remarkable, that notwithstanding the great reform which the Irish nation required, not only were all the bishops and ecclesiastics who were present upon that occasion natives, with the exception of three,—Henry's immediate chaplain and advisers,—but it was actually not deemed necessary to make any canons at this synod relative to religious doctrine, or even the more essential points of discipline, and some of the decrees are evidently of a political, rather than a religious tendency."—*D'Alton's "Archbishops of Dublin," &c.* pp. 61 & 62.

awarded as their exclusive property, is an inference which every impartial reader must reluctantly draw from the positive character and indisputable authenticity of the circumstances.

Looking back upon the transaction, and examining its details, we are struck by its enormity in every point of view: it violated, in the most unscrupulous and unwarrantable manner, every obligation which religion holds sacred, and law venerable—libel and robbery are published in the gross against a whole nation—every man's land and property usurped and transferred to foreigners—and all under the sacred pretence of mending the morals of the people and the discipline of the church! From first to last, there appears nothing in this business which is not utterly despicable; unless, indeed, we should except the sagacious foresight and able management of the English monarch, by whose penetrating diplomacy the victory was half won before the time came for striking a blow to gain it.

Henry received the fugitive king of Leinster with courtesy, and relieved his present wants with money. He listened to the story he told of his wrongs, and having his own hands too full of other weighty matters to do anything himself, granted him the following letters patent :—"King Henry of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, unto all his subjects, Englishmen, Normans, Scots, and all other nations and people, being his subjects, sendeth greeting: Whensoever these our letters patent shall come unto ye, know that we have received Dermod, prince of Leinster, into our protection, grace and favour; wherefore, whosoever within our jurisdiction will aid and help him, our trusty subject, for the recovery of his land, let him be assured of our favour and license in that behalf." Upon receiving this document, the runaway took the oath of allegiance, and did homage to Henry as his liege lord. The letter, it is to be observed, recognizes him as prince, not as king, and claims him as a subject.

Dermod now made his way back to Bristol, where he caused the king's letter to be frequently shown in public, and offered liberal terms to all persons willing to espouse his cause. He

remained for some time without a prospect of success. At last, Richard, earl of Pembroke and Chepstow, better known by the more familiar name of Strongbow, began a negotiation with him, which ended in a compact, by the terms of which Dermod promised the Norman earl his daughter Eva in marriage, and the succession to his throne, provided he came over with sufficient force to secure the prize in the following spring.

Having concluded this agreement, Dermod left Bristol, and sought the mountainous coast of Wales as the fittest place for a secret embarkation. His means were probably exhausted, for Cambrensis describes him, with all the longing of impatient exile, "languishing and lying for a passage, and comforting himself as well as he might—some time drawing in and breathing as it were the air of his country, which he seemed to snuff and smell, sometimes viewing and beholding his native hills, which on a fair day a man may easily descry."

While lingering in this anxious state, and probably not without his doubts of Strongbow's sincerity,—for the earl, a wary man who had already suffered Henry's displeasure, appears all along to have regarded the letter of license as not altogether sufficient warrant for the proceedings taken upon it,—Dermod made a second engagement with other parties. He fell in at St. David's with two half-brothers, Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephen, sons of the Lady Nesta, a Welsh princess of great beauty, but defective virtue, who, having been mistress to Henry I., became the wife of Gerald Lord Carew, and relapsing into the state of free love, cohabited with Stephen de Marisco or Maurice, constable of Cardigan Castle. To these brothers—Fitzgerald the legitimate son of Lord Carew, and Fitzstephen the bastard of Stephen Maurice—Dermod agreed to give the town of Wexford and two cantreds, or hundreds, of adjoining land, in fee, for ever, in consideration of their immediate aid in the recovery of his rights.

Having made these arrangements, he resolved to return and prepare for the reception of his new allies. "Weary," says the

Welsh chronicler, "of his exiled life and distressed estate, and therefore the more desirous to draw homewards for the recovery of his own, which he had so long travelled for and sought abroad, he first went to the church of St. David's to make his orisons and prayers; and then, the weather being fair and wind good, he adventured the seas about the middle of August, and having a merry passage he shortly landed, and with a very impatient mind hazarded himself through the middle of his enemies; and coming safely to Ferns, he was very honourably received by the clergy there, who refreshed and relieved him according to their means. Dissembling his princely estate, he continued as a private man all that winter amongst them." But in the spring of the next year, counting in all probability upon the promised aid from England, he broke from the obscure inactivity so uncongenial to his nature, and made a rash effort to regain his kingdom. The chief monarch Roderic, and his old enemy O'Rorke of Breffny, soon met him in the field, and reduced him once more to extremity. On this occasion, however, he dissembled, and submitting to the sovereign monarch in form, became his vassal, as he had become the vassal of Henry, and accepted of so mean a portion as ten cantreds of land, which were allowed him for his sustenance. Having thus succeeded in imposing upon his antagonists, and in retaining a footing in his kingdom, he awaited the arrival of the Welshmen with subdued anxiety; prepared to take up arms and break faith again, the moment they appeared in sight.

The inhabitants of Wales were early invaders of Ireland. Somewhere about the time of the birth of Christ, they are reported to have set fire to the celebrated Palace of Tara, and to have burned to death Con the Great, king of Ireland, who had then reigned 60 years. Some 250 years afterwards, Bein Brit, a prince of Wales, is said to have led an army of various nations to replace Mac Con of Ulster upon the throne from which he had been exiled. In this encounter a king of Connaught, and seven sons of the usurper, were slain. The Welsh made other predatory incursions in the 8th and 9th centuries,

and must therefore be held to have been well acquainted with the way to Ireland.*

The month of May, 1170, witnessed the last and most memorable invasion of Ireland from the shores of Wales. In that month, Fitzstephen set sail from St. David's Head, and making straight across the Channel, in all probability with the opposite coast all the time in view—effected a safe and quiet landing in the Bann, south of the town of Wexford. His force consisted of 30 gentlemen, his own connections, 60 men armed in mail, and 300 chosen archers, sailing in three small vessels. Fitzgerald does not appear to have been present on this occasion—and Strongbow, also absent, was represented by a broken down adventurer, Hervey de Montemarisco or Mountmaurice,† who is described by Cambrensis as a man unfortunate, unarmed, and without all furniture.

The sun was setting ominous of departing greatness, when the mailed invader descended upon the soft and fruitful soil of the barony of Forth. The next day Maurice of Prendergast, a lusty and hardy man, born about Milford, arrived in two vessels, with 10 gentlemen and 60 archers. Dermod soon heard the news, and was able to send his illegitimate son Donald Kavanagh with 500 men to welcome and support his friends. Soon after, according to Cambrensis, "he followed in person with great joy and gladness." Military operations were begun without delay. They attacked Wexford, and

* The English had also made incursions into Ireland, and according to some writers had even effected settlements there, long before the period now referred to. Bede says, Egfrid, king of Northumberland, descended upon Ireland in 694. A charter of Edgar, dated Gloucester, 964, recites that the greater part of Ireland, including the most noble city of Dublin, had been conquered by that king. Reasonable doubts are entertained of the authenticity of this document. There is a coin of Ethelred II. in Trinity College, Dublin, which is stamped as if struck in that city; others of Edred, Canute, and one of King Edgar, have been found in Dublin, with the name of the minter, evidently Irish. But these are rather hints for speculation than historical evidences. A more worthy subject of critical investigation is afforded by M. Thierry, who intimates, that the project had been entertained by William the Conqueror, and that even in his time the Normans were invited to the enterprise.

† This name is variably spelt in the old writers and rolls as Montmarais—Montemarisco—and latterly Mountmorris;—for the sake of uniformity, it will in this sketch be written Mountmaurice.

were met at first with gallantry. 2000 fierce and unruly men rushed out, and fought so well, that for a whole day the assailants were unable to gain an advantage. In the evening, however, struck by the superiority of the enemy in armour and discipline, they set fire to the suburbs and withdrew into the city; while Fitzstephen, to show a superior determination, gave the ships in which he had arrived to the flames, and thus publicly rendered retreat impossible. With conquest or death as his only alternatives, he prepared to renew hostilities in the morning; but the clergy, either won over by Dermod, or perhaps not ignorant of the designs of the Pope, interfered, and recommended submission. Thus checked, the people lost heart, and the town was given up. Thus too, at the onset, we find the ecclesiastical power holding out a helping hand to the invader. Fitzstephen and Fitzgerald received the stipulated price of the victory, and Mountmaurice was liberally endowed with two cantreds of land along the sea-side, between Wexford and Waterford. A formal treaty of the surrender of the town was drawn up, and as it was signed, according to report, in the Abbey of Selsker, it was, in all likelihood, the work of the clergy.

The second fight between the English and Irish took place in Ossory, and was easily won. The mailed invaders are described by Cambrensis as seizing and throwing down the undisciplined and ill-armed natives, and chopping off their heads with the battle axe. 300 bleeding heads, he adds, were presented to Mac Murrogh after the slaughter, who, discovering in one the features of a man he hated, seized it in his mouth, and bit off the nose and lips.*

* This and other anecdotes of savage disposition upon the part of the Irish chieftains have been acrimoniously resented by some authors, who do not hesitate to pronounce Cambrensis an atrocious libeller; while others continue to relate them as if they believed them to be true. That the Welsh bishop is in every respect credible, no person who has read his wild romance will venture to assert—but that he is, on the other hand, never to be believed, is a proposition which it would be to the full as unreasonable to maintain. For the sake of humanity, every writer would naturally feel indisposed to rely upon an anecdote like this. At the same time, if we are to judge of what Dermod could do by what he certainly did, we can but pronounce him a man animated by a host of untamed carnal passions, which he was accustomed to indulge without restraint—reared and exer-

Not long after the victory of Wexford, a third reinforcement arrived to the invaders, under the command of Maurice Fitzgerald, which consisted of 10 gentlemen, 30 horsemen, and about 100 archers and foot soldiers. While the English were thus strengthening themselves, a good deal of negotiation seems to have been carried on between Mac Murrogh and O'Connor, the chief king, in which there is ground for presuming that the former was willing to break faith with his English friends, and rid himself of their presence, upon receiving a clear title to his kingdom of Leinster. To prove his sincerity, he placed his only legitimate son as a hostage in the hands of his enemy; but soon violating the compact, the youth, after having his eyes cruelly torn out, was cut off by an ignominious

cised in deeds of treachery and violence—suffering and inflicting acts of revolting cruelty—wild, sensual, dissolute, and unprincipled; in prosperity insolent, in adversity mean—prone to the extremes of cowardice and courage—and capable of profound dissimulation. It is this last trait in his character, more than any other, that makes the Cambrensis anecdote colourable; for it will be generally found, that consummate hypocrites are prone to excessive hatreds, and the most furious revenge. These are general reasons; but if we were without them, enough, and that undisputed, is related of the habitual cruelties practised by these rude kings and tyrant chieftains, to induce a supposition of their being capable of committing the wildest excesses of atrocious revengeful passion. How treacherously Lachlan, the sovereign of Ireland, tore out the eyes of the prince of Ulad, has been already related; and it must be added, that scarcely a single page of the uncouth annals of the period is clear of the record of some dark crime or faithless cruelty. Men seeing and doing acts of this kind—and hardened by a state of society in which the most exalted members were precisely those who could least count upon the last, the highest and best wish of the heart—the consolation of a quiet and religious death-bed—were naturally, in moments of extreme exasperation, and when their fierce natures were roused by circumstances of uncommon provocation, not unlikely to forget the limited reason they had, and disgrace humanity. The English reader, in particular, should not forget that the Irish were not singular in acts of ferocity. If Dermod shocks us, so does Henry—not, it is true, to the same extent, but still to one so positively savage, that we are only left to compare the degrees of barbarism which appropriately belong to the Irish and English sovereigns. The following is the character of Henry, found in the Chronicles:—"He was irascible beyond measure, and could not be approached in moments of passion without danger;—when in one of those paroxysms, he was more like a wild beast than a man; his eyes blood-shot, his face like fire, his tongue abusive and blasphemous, his hands most mischievous, striking and tearing whatever came in his way. On one occasion he flew at a page to pluck his eyes out, and the boy did not escape without being severely torn."

death. This event is supposed to be the subject of an old fresco still visible upon the walls of the abbey of Knockmoy, in the county of Galway.

Thus easily was the invasion established, while Strongbow remained in Wales afraid to commit himself by participating in the achievement. At length he went to Henry, and solicited permission to head his party. The monarch, wary and reserved, returned an evasive answer, which the chafed soldier ventured to interpret as his desires and the prayer of his petition suggested. Accordingly, early in 1170, he sent forward Raymond Fitzwilliam, who landed four miles from Waterford, with 10 gentlemen and 70 archers. Fitzwilliam was the son of William, Lord Carew, Fitzgerald's elder brother. He was a large fat man, and on that account surnamed Le Gros, which corrupted into Grace, gave the name to a numerous and powerful branch of his descendants in the county of Kilkenny. At the present day, the name remains—its higher honours and vast possessions have died away and past in smaller parcels into other hands. The original founder, Le Gros Fitzwilliam, was a man of superior ability, an excellent soldier, and not without talent as a statesman. Strongbow has always enjoyed the reputation of having been the chief of the expedition; but it is felt that Fitzwilliam was his readiest adviser in all emergencies, and that being equally efficient in the council and in the field, he fully deserved the praise of Cambrensis, who styles him—"wise, moderate, and wary, nothing delicate in his fare nor choice in his apparel; having in him whatsoever appertained to a valiant soldier, but excelling in all things belonging to a good captain."

No sooner had this new party of English thrown up a small fort at Dundrone, or Dun-ile, where they are reported to have landed, than a tumultuous body of 3000 men, led by O'Fallon, prince of Decies, and O'Ryan of Idrone, poured from the city of Waterford to destroy them, and suffered an ignoble defeat. Fitzwilliam, having drawn his small force within the fort, let loose a herd of cattle, collected for their maintenance, which threw his assailants into such confusion that they fled

precipitately, leaving behind 500 dead and 70 prisoners. The latter were principal inhabitants of Waterford and were subjected to atrocious treatment. Cambrensis, no adverse witness on that side of the question, relates the fact, and adds, that "weary with killing," after the heat of the engagement had subsided and leisure for reflection and moderation had intervened, "the captives, like men condemned, were brought to the rocks, where their limbs having been first broken, they were cast headlong into the sea, and so drowned."

Such were some of the barbaric features of the first English invasion. They are so revolting, that every well-disposed writer would willingly avoid giving the pain their recital is calculated to inflict, by passing them over in silence; but their omission, if excusable on some grounds, is forbidden on others. The rude and sanguinary warfare exhibited in the Irish annals for a long series of centuries, demands our particular notice, because the faithless and cruel character it bore at the beginning, it preserved to the end. In the narrative we are startled over and over again with outbursts of vengeance and bloodshed, for which there often appears to have been no immediate provocation given. These are generally to be explained, and at times even to be extenuated, by reverting to similar deeds of violence committed against the offending party, and by reflecting how many of the rules of honourable war seem to have been shamefully violated, at the commencement of the struggle, by both the parties engaged in it.

At last the time arrived when the great author of the invasion was to appear in person upon the field. Waterford held out until September; but in the beginning of that month Strongbow mustered a superior force of 200 gentlemen and 1000 inferior fighting men, with whom he set sail from Milford Haven, and reached Ireland on the eve of the feast of St. Bartholomew, in the year 1170. "Strongbow," says Cambrensis, "was of a complexion somewhat sanguine and freckled. His eyes were grey, his countenance feminine, his voice small, his neck slender, but in most other points he was well formed

and tall. His temper was composed and even—neither elated by success, nor dejected by misfortunes; in his manners he was frank and courteous; what he could not acquire by force, he frequently obtained by his insinuating address. In peace he was more disposed to obey than to govern. His state and power were reserved for the camp, but were always upheld by a certain dignity of manner. He was diffident of his own judgment, and cautious of proposing plans of operations, but in executing those of others he was always undaunted and full of energy. In battle his person was the standard upon which his soldiers fixed their eyes, and by his motions they were decided to advance or retreat."

Le Gros Fitzwilliam joined his leader in the morning, and being named commander of the attacking force, by common consent, the city was invested without delay, and carried, notwithstanding a brave resistance upon the part of the inhabitants, who were aided by a body of Ostmen, the descendants of a Danish colony long settled amongst them, and led on this occasion by Reginald, who bore the title of Prince, and gave his name to the tower still standing on the city quay. Again the English disgraced their victory by a horrid carnage. "They entered into the city," says their own historian, "and killed the people without pity or mercy, leaving them lying in great heaps; and thus, with bloody hands, they obtained a bloody victory."

While this scene of ruin was proceeding, Fitzgerald, Fitzstephen, and Mac Murrogh arrived. The latter brought his daughter with him; and the nuptials of Strongbow and Eva were celebrated with uncouth pomp in the midst of slaughter and destruction. After Waterford, Dublin fell; and so nearly in the same manner, that a particular account of its reduction is unnecessary. The Danes and the Irish here again combined their strength to no purpose. The latter, who were led by their own prince, Hesculph Mac Turkill, who also claimed the city by right of conquest, made a brave effort to repossess themselves of it; but they were unsuccessful, and their prince being made prisoner and executed as a pirate, the metropolis of Ireland fell permanently into the possession of the English.

But where all this while was Roderic, the sovereign chief? Did the last Irish king make no effort worthy of the value of his native isle, the courage of his fellow countrymen, the supremacy of his rank, and the fame of the ancient line of crowned heads from which it was his boast to have descended? Alas, none! Roderic O'Connor seems to have been a prince of no greatness. When Dermod and the English, emboldened by the capture of Waterford, marched against Dublin, he assembled a numerous army to repel them at Clondalkin, but either wanted the spirit or the authority to prevent them from dispersing without an engagement. It is now vain to inquire whether he was unable or unwilling to meet the invaders in battle. He failed to fight, then tried to negotiate, and proved equally powerless in the cabinet and the field. He made Dermod the most splendid offers, and because they were not accepted, ordered the hostages given before the arrival of the English to be beheaded. The sentence was carried into execution, and amongst the sufferers, as already mentioned, was Dermod's son.

Other influences united soon after to prevent a kingdom from being lost without a single strong blow being struck to save it. There is one passage in the progress of the invasion marked in some degree with the interest and dignity which befit a national conquest; and we see at the head of it, not Roderic, king of Ireland, but Hesculph the Dane, and the church. Roderic was with them, it is true, but by no means proved the hero of the confederacy. The church, for once, proved the master spirit of determined opposition to the English. From that potent source the spirit was breathed which gave this effort superior influence and effect. The moment was opportune and cheering in the highest degree. Henry II., amazed at the progress made by a handful of adventurous soldiers in conquering a kingdom for themselves, had ordered them to return home, and the order had been disobeyed; Le Gros Fitzwilliam was at his court, vainly soliciting indulgence; Strongbow was in Dublin, destitute of supplies and in the lowest state of dejection; Fitzstephen, yielding to the entreaties of his leader, had sent forward succour he could ill

spare while fast besieged at Castle Carrig in Wexford. Then it was that Lawrence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin, came forward and aroused his countrymen to make an effort worthy of the prize at stake, and to throw off the English yoke. He flew from province to province, entreating, exhorting, and commanding chieftains, clergy, and soldiers to avail themselves of the opportunity, and drive forth the common enemy. The appeal was answered with enthusiasm; a numerous army poured upon Dublin from all parts of the country, and Roderic O'Connor for once found himself at the head of a force befitting a monarch. This overwhelming muster seems to have awed Strongbow. He procured the intervention of the archbishop, and offered to capitulate and become the vassal of the Irish sovereign. But Roderic, as rash in prosperity as he was weak in adversity, refused to treat unless they would bind themselves to leave the country; and the latter, driven to despair by circumstances, resolved to surprise the enemy's camp by a sudden sally, which was triumphantly successful. Roderic and his troops fled in dismay, the Danes betook themselves to their fleet, and the invaders were released from the only formidable combination hitherto arrayed against them. Had the church repeated such exertions, the enterprise against Ireland might have had a different issue from that we have here to describe.

While Roderic was thus sinking into insignificance, Dermod was removed altogether from the scene of the troubles he had occasioned. He had admitted various proposals from Roderic, and is said to have assented to a proposition for turning out his new allies, and reigning again as king of Leinster, with enlarged dominions. But the progress of his fortune soon became too marked, and the inefficiency of his native sovereign too manifest, to admit of moderate views upon his part. He ultimately rejected all appeals and offers, and boldly announced that he would not stop his course until he became chief king of Ireland himself. But his race was run: a loathsome disease attacked him; he retired to his palace at Ferns, where he had founded an abbey

upon returning from England, by way of atonement for having fired the town when he fled from it in 1166; and there he died obscurely, in May, 1171. Having sacrificed his only son as already narrated, we lose sight of his name and family in the subsequent conflict. He was buried in the abbey, of which the ruins still exist, and the charter is preserved in the "Monasticon Anglicanum." It is a document of some interest: the bishops of Lismore, Leighlin, Ferns, Ossory, Kildare and Glendalough, together with the abbot of the last-mentioned place, were the attesting witnesses. The endowment was for Canons Regular of the order of St. Augustin, and various lands and tithes are specified which were assigned for its maintenance. A more ancient establishment is said to have existed on the same site—at any rate, Ferns appears to have been a place of considerable ecclesiastical power, and an episcopal residence from remote ages, as well as the capital of King Dermod Mac Murrógh, the first instigator, though not the principal instrument, in subverting the independence of Ireland.

The title of King of Leinster was now assumed by Strongbow in right of his wife. He took possession of Ferns, the capital of the province—indulged a regal state, and dispensed honours, rewards, and punishments at his pleasure. But at the moment his ambition was most highly gratified, it received a shock which threatened to overthrow all his past fortune. Henry II., ill pleased to witness the rapid progress of the invasion under circumstances so completely independent of the royal authority, issued a proclamation in which he forbade the sailing of any more ships or men to Ireland, and ordered all his subjects in that country to return home forthwith. This placed the invaders in a critical position: after giving the emergency their best consideration, they despatched Fitzwilliam le Gros to Henry, who was in Aquitaine, with letters pleading his permission for what they had done, and submitting themselves and their acquisitions humbly to his disposal. The monarch at first refused to see the emissary; and when he did admit him to his presence, continued obstinately bent upon enforcing the return of the adventurers. Strong-

bow despatched a second mediator, in the person of Hervey de Montmaurice. Henry, who seems to have come from France for the express purpose of paying serious attention to the state of Ireland, vouchsafed no further reply than that Strongbow should attend him in person. The latter lost no time in obeying this mandate, and arriving at Newnham in Gloucestershire, where Henry then resided, was at first denied an audience. The prudent sovereign and his successful soldier, however, soon came to an understanding. It was agreed between them that Dublin and all the conquered country should be given up to Henry, while Strongbow should retain the possessions he had acquired by his wife, as a subject of the crown of England.

No sooner were the terms settled, than Henry levied a scutage* throughout England, and with Strongbow and a swelling troop of other nobles and barons in his suite, 400 knights, and 4000 soldiers, set sail for Ireland in a numerous fleet collected for the purpose, and amounting to 400 sail. He landed near Waterford, October 18, 1171, and both his reception and progress were as peaceful and prosperous as his warmest wishes could have desired. At the very beginning a favourable opportunity prompted him to make one of those politic displays for which temper and habit well qualified him. Fitzstephen, the first invader, had been surprised into a capitulation, and was led before his sovereign in chains by the Ostmen and natives of Waterford. Henry received the fettered soldier with an air of haughty displeasure, and committed him a close prisoner to Reginald's Tower. He was kept in confinement while another act of the drama was in a course of performance. On the very day of his arrival, Strongbow surrendered Dublin and Waterford, and did homage for his own possessions. On the next, Macarty, prince of Desmond, gave up Cork, and agreed to pay tribute for his principality. This example was followed by O'Brien of Thomond, O'Fallon of Decies, and Fitzpatrick of Ossory. Henry then visited Lismore and Cashel, the principal ecclesias-

* The Somerset House Pipe Roll, 17 Hen. II., contains the actual levy.

tical establishments of the South of Ireland, and after ingratiating himself with the clergy, proceeded to Dublin, receiving on the way the homage of the Leinster chiefs. Amongst these was O'Rorke of Breffny, the nearest friend and strongest ally of O'Connor, the sovereign monarch, who also followed humbly in the wake of general obedience. Roderic did not appear before Henry in person—he refused to stir beyond the Shannon; but two knights being sent to command his submission, he swore allegiance, became tributary, and put in hostages for his fidelity. Christmas was now approaching; and Henry resolved to keep the festive season in Dublin, and entertain his own captains and the Irish chieftains. His liberal hospitality and the splendour he displayed, must have been dazzling to all ranks of his new subjects. There being no place in Dublin capacious enough for the purpose, a temporary building of large dimensions was run up, after the Irish fashion, with wattles and mud, upon the site of the present College Green. These rude materials were soon turned into a magnificent pavilion: the walls were hung with Flemish tapestry, and the tables served with massive ornaments of plate of curious and costly workmanship. "On this occasion," says Cambrensis, "many and the most part of the princes of the land resorted to Dublin to see the king's court; and when they beheld the great abundance of victuals and the noble services, as also the eating of cranes, which they much loathed, being not before accustomed to them, they wondered and marvelled; but in the end, receiving places by the king's command, they partook of the feast."

To confirm the dominion thus easily acquired, two councils were held; one lay, at Lismore, which, according to Matthew Paris, provided for the extension of the English laws into Ireland; and the other ecclesiastical, at Cashel, where the Irish clergy promulgated the statutes for the reform of the church, to which reference has already been made.

The statute passed at the Synod of Cashel is given by Giraldus Cambrensis, and has been confounded by many writers with the charters by which the Irish prelates signed and sealed away, to Henry and his heirs for ever, the dominion of their country, as conferred by the Pope; but the statute of

Cashel neither contains a clause granting the kingdom to Henry, nor one conceding to the Pope the penny pension on each house, or the investiture of bishops' palls, which are well known to have been the considerations allowed to the See of Rome for the boon given to the English king. The statute of Cashel recognizes his title distinctly—not, however, as a present gift, but as a past acquirement and settled possession. It opens by reciting that the triumphant Henry had obtained the island; and it concludes by affirming, that as Ireland, by the Divine destiny, had received from England her lord and sovereign, it was meet and just that she should further adopt from that country a better model of living than she had previously observed; and this the more particularly, inasmuch as the Irish church and kingdom stood indebted to that sovereign for whatever of the blessings of peace or increase of religion they had hitherto obtained. From this language it is clear that other documents must have preceded the Cashel statute, and that the Pope's bulls were confirmed by some preceding act. Matthew Paris, it will be remembered, says that there was a council at Lismore as well as at Cashel; but perhaps the account given in Roger Hovenden's Chronicle will lead us more readily to a correct idea of the order of these proceedings. Hovenden is brief; he gives nothing but bare facts, and there is an air of exactitude in the manner of his statement, much more truthlike and convincing than the flowing periods and ornate style of Cambrensis. In the Chronicle of the former we are informed that Henry stayed *fifteen* days at Waterford, and that the archbishops, bishops, and abbots of all Ireland came to him there, and received him as king and lord of Ireland, swearing fealty to him and his heirs, and giving charters of his perpetual right to reign over them. The names of the hierarchs of Ireland are then correctly set out; and we are informed that from Waterford Henry proceeded to Lismore, where he remained *two* days, and thence, according to some, he went to Cork and Limerick, and by all accounts from Cashel to Dublin.* *Afterwards* he

* It has been remarked, and apparently not without point, that both

sent Nicholas and Radcliffe to a synod at Cashel, on the affairs of the church. Here we have distinct proceedings at different places; and perhaps, comparing the two accounts together, we shall not be much in error if we assume from them some such a probable succession of events as the following:—Henry's first care upon his arrival would naturally be to secure, from the church of Ireland, a confirmation of his grant from the See of Rome, and for Rome itself an acknowledgment of those rights, upon the assertion of which, in its intercourse with Christendom, it had always insisted with jealous pertinacity, but to which the church of Ireland had not as yet submitted. If the fifteen days spent at Waterford were not occupied in negotiating these important matters, we shall be at a loss to account for the long delay made in that city.* Supposing the preliminaries to have been settled at Waterford, the two days at Lismore would be devoted to the execution of the deeds, for which Lismore, being a place of considerable reputation as a seat of learning and ecclesiastical power, was peculiarly fitted, inasmuch as it was the fashion, because the necessity of the age, to test and deliver documents of moment in abbeys and churches. Having thus secured his own title-deed and the Pope's terms, he would report progress at Rome, and entitle himself to the Bull of Confirmation from Alexander III., which does not appear to have been specially called for on any other view we can take of the circumstances.

In reviewing these memorable events, it is impossible not to admire the address with which Henry conducted the whole

in the port at which Henry landed, and in most of the places he visited, the Danes possessed independent authority, and were more powerful than the Irish.

* If, on the other hand, fifteen days are considered too short a term for the conclusion of such weighty matters, it should be remembered that Henry's arrival was no sudden event; on the contrary, that it was preceded by ample notice—that he stayed at St. David's for some time before he sailed, and there received embassies and tenders of submission from various persons in Ireland. The terms of the treaty between him and the clergy would thus have been opened in Wales, and the heads of the church called together to meet him at Waterford, where, according to Hovenden, they did assemble, and doubtless not without notice.

affair. As far as he was concerned, abilities of the highest order were displayed. Taking care to be no direct party to any deed of violence, and dexterously availing himself of the consequences of Strongbow's connection with Mac Murrogh, he presented himself to the unresisting leaders of the Irish nation with an imposing but pacific front, produced a title to the kingdom which was pronounced sacred by the highest authority in it, and without striking a blow—without once drawing his sword—was hailed, wherever he appeared, with devotion by the church, with wonder by the mass of the community, and apparent, if not real loyalty, by the nobility and kings. Had circumstances permitted him to bestow upon the preservation of the interests thus created, the same keen attention he had applied to their acquisition, there is little room to doubt that Ireland would have soon become an arm of great strength to the English monarchy.

But this consummation was not destined to be realised. Shrewd as Henry's intuition and diplomacy unquestionably were, they abounded with faults of the gravest kind. Severely and most selfishly ambitious, he was little scrupulous as to the course he pursued, or the means he adopted to gain any object from which he felt once assured that advantage would accrue to himself. His plan for effecting the complete reduction of Ireland was as subtle as his policy for its first acquisition, and both were equally removed from morality and honour. It was not expounded in ordinances or proclamations, but it is to be intelligibly traced in his proceedings. He accepted the submission of the Irish kings and princes,* and confirmed them in their possessions—but at the same time he made large grants of their territories to the adventurers in his train who were bold enough to seize tracts of land, and strong enough to hold them. The seeds of ever-growing strife between the Irish

* "But what is to be censured, and what at all hazards they were bound to refuse, was the violation of their faith to the Irish princes, in sharing among these insatiable barons their ancient territories, which, setting aside the wrong of the first invasion, were protected by their homage and submission, and sanctioned by positive conventions."—*Hallam's Constitutional History*, vol. iii. p. 468.

and English were thus sown—and no doubt intentionally. Henry foresaw that he was laying the foundations of inevitable confusion between the English barons and Irish chieftains; but he also knew that he alone could be ultimately referred to as umpire in the strife, and he hoped that he should find it easy to dictate to the belligerents on both sides when their strength should be exhausted. In all this, however, if he did not over-calculate his own powers, he at least mistook the course of events, and the ability as well as the resources of his successors.

Henry left Ireland on Easter Monday, 1172, and his disposition of the country, unregulated and unchecked as it afterwards was by his presiding sagacity, or by commensurate talent upon the part of his successors, laid the basis of a series of disasters that for ages seemed interminable. Unwilling to add to Strongbow's greatness, he placed Dublin and the government of Ireland in the joint hands of Hugh de Lacy as chief governor, and Robert Fitzstephen and Maurice Fitzgerald as coadjutors; distributing at the same time to these and other barons in his train, as feoffees, the territories they had already snatched or only coveted from the Irish. To Strongbow he gave Leinster—to John de Courcy, Ulster—to Fitzstephen, a broad district in Dublin—to him and Miles de Cogan, Cork—to De Lacy, Meath. All these grants were accompanied with uncommon powers. The policy of this proceeding was obvious; he set one grandee up as a counterpoise to the other, and threw upon each the danger and cost of retaining possession of his respective fee. Collision with the Irish was, under these circumstances, unavoidable. There was no territory thus awarded to an Englishman, of which the native prince, having done homage for it, did not consider himself lawfully possessed. Hence mutual animosities and reciprocal aggressions the moment Henry departed. These entered so essentially into the composition of his arrangement of Irish affairs, that it is difficult to suppose that they had not been foreseen; in all probability, they had been not only foreseen but designed, upon the presumption, as just remarked, that the royal arm,

when stretched forth, would prove strong enough to compose the distractions so naturally to be expected, under such circumstances, amongst its tributaries and dependents.

As it happened, however, Henry obtained, and his successors for ages enjoyed, nothing more than the nominal sovereignty of Ireland. The testimony of Sir J. Davies on this point is decisive: summing up the incidents and effect of this royal progress, he says:—"Being advertised of some stir raised by his unnatural sons in England, within five months after his arrival, he departed out of Ireland without striking one blow, or building one castle, or planting one garrison among the Irish; neither left he behind him one true subject more than those he found there at his coming over, which were only the English adventurers spoken of before, who had gained the port-towns in Leinster and Munster, and possessed some scopes of land thereunto adjoining, partly by Strongbow's alliance with the lord of Leinster, and partly by plain invasion and conquest." The donation of the Pope, he further adds, and the submission of the Irish kings, were but poor assurances of a kingdom.

So little in point of fact did events arise, as Henry in the summit of his prosperity must have anticipated, that ere long he had neither leisure nor inclination to turn his thoughts to the good government of Ireland, in which he was moreover compelled to weaken rather than to strengthen his party. The rebellion of his sons endangered his French possessions, to which he was always strongly attached, and compelled him to summon Strongbow and a large force from Ireland. This was the signal for a general effort, upon the part of the natives, to throw off a yoke which was pressing them more closely and grinding them more sharply every day. Jealous feuds amongst the English barons added to this danger; and Irish affairs fell into such a state of disorder, that Henry was obliged to send back Strongbow, armed with the authority of chief governor. An incursion, under Fitzwilliam le Gros, who was again made commander in chief, took place into the domains of Macarty of Desmond. Offaly and Lismore were ravaged; and the victor sought the hand of Strongbow's sister,

named Basilia, as the reward of his success. This was refused; and Le Gros, throwing up his commission, retired indignantly to Wales. Hervey de Mountmaurice now became general in chief, and endeavoured to push the advantages gained by his predecessor further into Munster: but he was unequal to the task, though aided by Strongbow, who made a diversion in his favour from Dublin. O'Brien, king of Limerick, surprised a body of Ostmen at Thurles, and slaying 400, compelled Strongbow to shut himself up in Waterford. The news of this reverse spread rapidly through the country, and another confederacy of the southern kings and princes was formed for the total expulsion of the English. In this extremity Le Gros Fitzwilliam was invited back from Wales; and returning with 30 leaders of his own kindred, 100 horsemen, and 300 archers, all hardy and well appointed soldiers, he gained an opportune victory, and soon after the hand of Basilia, who brought him a large portion of land. So potent, however, were the combined Irish, that for some time the reunited English were unable to make any impression upon them. But soon falling out amongst themselves, the arms of the invaders were again triumphant, and the chief king, O'Connor, seeing Limerick in possession of Le Gros Fitzwilliam, entered into a separate treaty with Henry, by which, to secure the sovereignty of his province, he did homage anew, and bound himself to enforce a tribute to the English crown of every tenth merchantable hide of land from all parts of Ireland—those excepted, of which separate grants had been made by Henry to his English subjects. The following is the Treaty, from Rymer:—

"Hic est finis & concordia, quæ facta fuit apud Windeshoveres in octavis Sancti Michael anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCLXXV. inter dominum Regem Angliæ, H. filium Matillis Imperatricis & Rodericum Regem Connactensem per catholicum archiepiscopum Tuamensem & Cantordem abbatem Sancti Brandani & magistrum Laurentium cancellarium Regis Connactensis silicet.

"1. Quod H. Rex Angliæ concessit prædicto Roderico, ligio homini suo, Regi Connactæ quamdiu ei fideliter serviet quod sit Rex sub eo paratus ad servitium suum, sicut homo suus.

"2. Et quod terram suam ita teneat bene & in pace, sicut tenuit antequam dominus Rex Angliæ intraret Hiberniam reddendo ei tributum.

"3. Et totam aliam terram & habitatores terræ habeat sub se & justi-

ciet ut tributum Reg' Angl' integre persolvant, & per manum ejus, & sua jura sibi conservent.

" 4. Et illi qui modo tenent teneant in pace quamdiu permanserint in fidelitate Regis Angliæ & ei fideliter & integre persolverint tributum, & alia jura sua, qui ei debent, per manum Regis Connacti; salvo in omnibus jure et honore domini Regis Angliæ & suo.

" 5. Et, si quis ex eis Regi Angliæ & ei rebelles fuerint, & tributum, & alia jura Reg' Angl' per manum suam solvere noluerint, & a fidelitate Regis Angliæ recesserint, ipse eos justiciet & amoveat.

" 6. Et, si eos per se justiciare non poterit, constabularius Regis Angliæ, & familia sua de terrâ illâ juvabunt eum ad hoc faciendum, cum ab ipso fuerint requisiti, & ipsi viderint quod necesse fuerit.

" 7. Et propter hunc finem reddet prædictus Rex Connact' domino Regi Angliæ tributum singulis annis; scilicet de singulis 10 animalibus unum corium, placabile mercatoribus, tam de totâ terrâ suâ quam de aliâ: Excepto quod de terris illis, quas dominus Rex Angliæ retinuit in dominio suo, & in dominio baronum suorum, nichil se intromittet.

" Silicet Duvelina cum omnibus pertinentiis suis:

" Et Raida cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, sicut unquam Murchat Vamailethaclin eam melius & plenius tenuit, aut aliqui qui de eo eam tenuerunt:

" Et exceptâ Vesefordiâ cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, scil' cum tota Lagenia.

" Et exceptâ Waterfordiâ, cum tota terra illa quæ est a Vaterford' usque ad Duncarvan; ita quod Duncarvan sit cum omnibus pertinentiis suis infra terram illam.

" 8. Et, si Hibernenses, qui aufugerunt, redire voluerint ad terram baronum Regis Angliæ, redeant in pace, reddendo tributum prædictum sicut alii reddunt, vel faciendo antiqua servitia, quæ facere solebant, pro terris suis; & hoc sit in arbitrio & voluntate dominorum suorum.

" 9. Et, si aliqui redire noluerint, & domini eorum requisierint Regem Connactæ, ipse cogat eos redire ad terram suam, ut ibi remaneant & pacem habeant.

" 10. Et Rex Connactæ accipiat obsides ab omnibus, quos ei commisit dominus Rex Angliæ, ad voluntatem domini Regis & suam.

" 11. Et ipse dabit obsides, ad voluntatem domini Regis Angliæ, illos vel alios; & ipsi servient domino Regi de canibus suis & avibus singulis annis de præsentiis suis.

" Et nullum omnino de quacunque terra domini Regis sit, retinebunt contra voluntatem domini Regis & mandatum domini Regis.

" Testibus &c."

To show that the style and the lands also of the petty kings were formally admitted and continued, we may take from Sir J. Davies the Tower Rolls grant made so late as Henry III. to the king of Thomond.

" Rex regi Tosmond salutem: concessimus vobis terram Tosmond quam prius tenuistes per firmam centum et triginta marcarum tenundum de nobis, &c."

Peace being thus restored, the victors began to quarrel and intrigue amongst themselves; the king was appealed to

—interfered—and it is especially worthy of remark, that in this, the first instance in which the royal authority was brought to bear upon Irish differences, it was completely foiled. The circumstances were briefly these. Hervey de Montmaurice, jealous of Le Gros Fitzwilliam, reported various stories of his ambition to Henry, whose suspicious and selfish policy was always quick to take alarm at the idea of great power centered in an individual subject. He lost no time in sending over a royal commission, consisting of four members, two of whom were to bring Raymond to England forthwith, while the others instituted an inquiry into Strongbow's administration: but no sooner had the commissioners arrived, than a report of a new insurrection in Limerick was spread. Raymond prepared to obey the king's commands with apparent alacrity, but the troops, hearing of his intention, refused to march without their general. The royal commission, in this dilemma, was dexterously turned into an instrument against the power from which it emanated. The commissioners were informed that the existence of the English interest in Ireland was at stake, and must be sacrificed if Raymond was removed and Strongbow molested. Alarmed at these representations, they abandoned the idea of bringing Raymond to England, and ordered him to proceed against the enemy. This command he cheerfully and successfully obeyed; and thus the first attempt made to meddle with the barons in their management of Irish affairs, proved vain, and seems not to have been persisted in.

Injurious to themselves as the jealousies of the English were, the feuds of the Irish were still more fatal to their party. Young Macarty of Desmond rebelled against his father, and threw him into confinement. The old prince appealed to Le Gros, who, glad to receive the call, reinstated him in his possessions, and received as his reward a valuable grant of lands in Kerry. From these operations he was unexpectedly recalled by a letter from his wife, which quaintly stated that the tooth so long aching had at last fallen out. This was an enigmatical intimation of the death of Strong-

bow, who was buried with great pomp in Dublin, where Archbishop O'Toole performed his obsequies, and a tomb was erected to his memory, some disputed remains of which are still to be seen in Christ Church Cathedral.*

As he left no son, and his heirs were in England, Raymond undertook to act as his representative, and immediately repaired to Dublin, entrusting Limerick, which had just submitted in form to the slippery faith of its native prince. The council at Dublin, pending the king's pleasure, chose Le Gros, as chief governor. The preamble of a statute passed in the reign of Richard, and referred to by Leland, warrants the opinion that in exercising this privilege the council acted upon a special provision, made by Henry for the emergency that had now arisen. The appointment appears to have been the fittest that could have been made; and had it

* The Irish, prone to superstition, ascribed Strongbow's death without an heir, to the displeasure of Heaven at his wrongful invasion of their country. He had a son, however, an unworthy recreant, upon whom, if tradition tells the truth, he acted the austere part of a Brutus in Norman chivalry. The tragedy, according to the tenor of the events, was enacted previously to Henry's arrival, and when Strongbow was on his way through the barony of Idrone, to relieve Fitzstephen, who was closely hemmed in at Wexford. During the march, Strongbow was briskly assaulted by O'Ryan and his followers; but O'Ryan being slain by Nichol the Monk, who shot him with an arrow, the rest were easily scattered. It was here that Strongbow's only son, a youth about seventeen years old, frighted with the numbers and wild cries of the Irish, ran away from the battle, and made towards Dublin; but being informed of his father's victory, he joyfully came back to congratulate him. The unbending general, however, having first reproached him with cowardice, caused him to be immediately executed, by severing his body in the middle with a sword. Justly punishable with severity as cowardice must always be held by military men—it is impossible to contemplate this unnatural act of cruelty without abhorrence. The truth of the anecdote, as far as the youth's flight is concerned, seems to be confirmed by the reproachful epitaph on Strongbow and his son, in Christ Church, Dublin, which also seems to imply a sad end:—

"Nate ingrate, mihi pugnanti terga dedisti
Non mihi, sed genti, Regnoque terga dedisti."

Ungrateful Son, while fighting—from me fled—
Nor only me, but King and Country fled.

The story seems to derive some confirmation from the appearance of the stone which is pointed out as the son's monument. It adjoins the figure said to be the earl's, and is a rude representation of the upper part of a small body, with the lower half cut off, and wanting.

been continued, the difficult task might perhaps have been performed, of keeping the insubordinate barons under due restraint, and confining the impatient Irish to the terms of the treaties they had reluctantly contracted. But Henry, whose caution seems always to have opposed the elevation of a man already powerful, sent over, as head of the unsettled adventurers, William Fitzadelm de Burg, a relative of his own, and the founder of the powerful family of Burke, now represented by Ulick, marquis of Clanricarde.

De Burg was met by the Irish clergy at Waterford, who conciliated his favour by fulminating the severest ecclesiastical censures against all who should impeach the Pope's grant of the kingdom, or resist Henry's authority. This ceremony performed, he made an inspection of the king's forts and cities, and was received throughout his progress with due honours. But he neither gained adherents, nor inspired respect. As soon as his back was turned each man continued to act in his own possessions as he pleased. He was exposed to the counteraction of two unfriendly bodies, the native Irish and the English settlers, and adopted a double line of conduct. He affected to court the former, while he strained his utmost authority to humble the pride and reduce the power of the latter, by assigning new lands to them, and compelling them to transfer their original possessions and privileges to his immediate followers. The Fitzgeralds, Le Gros Fitzwilliam, and Fitzstephen were deprived of their estates in this way. In the fresh set of adventurers thus favoured, was Fitzwalter de Boteler, the progenitor of one of the most celebrated families in the South of Ireland—the Butlers, dukes of Ormonde. Discontent and insurrection, the natural consequences of these proceedings, still prevailed, when De Courcy, one of the most disaffected, led off a party to conquer Ulster, of which he had some time previously received the grant. A predatory incursion was made, large tracts were invested, and forts erected. While this bold baron strove vigorously, but in vain, to erect another petty kingdom upon the destruction of the ancient dynasty of the O'Neils in the North, Murrogh O'Connor re-

belled against his aged father, Roderic, the chief king, and ere long invited Miles de Cogan to enter Connaught in arms. This attack, contrary, upon the part of the English to express treaty, and to nature upon the side of young O'Connor, met with the fate it deserved. The old monarch was successful, and the English being compelled to retreat, the usurping son was abandoned to the resentment of his fellow-countrymen, who put out his eyes.

"Little good," says Campion, "did Fitzadelm, and less was like to do, because he delighted to cross his peers, and was of them stopped in his government." He was removed in 1179, when Hugh de Lacy, the original chief governor, was re-appointed. Another distribution of lands took place about this juncture, to appease the wrath of the barons with whose possessions De Burg had interfered. De Cogan and Robert Fitzstephen received the kingdom of Cork, Cork City, which was reserved to the crown, excepted. To Herbert Fitzherbert was given the county of Limerick, in like manner saving the city; Waterford, except the city, to Robert le Poer, from whom, through the female line, the modern Beresfords trace their titles and possessions; the greater part of Connaught to De Burg; Hugh de Lacy being confirmed in his former grant of Meath, and De Courcy's claim to Ulster being left as it stood—a grant half realised.

In recording this fresh distribution of the country, we are led to notice the tragic extermination of one family, which describes in a single instance the state of general insecurity in which the invading barons lived—produced on the one side by rival jealousies amongst themselves, and on the other by the restless violence of the injured Irish, who rose ever and anon in sudden force to reassert their rights and regain the lands of which they had been despoiled. Cogan and Fitzstephen entered upon their new lands in Cork, and for a while resided tranquilly upon them. But they had been former rivals, and soon became jealous neighbours. Fitzstephen was somewhat broken in years and subdued in spirit by the loss of his eldest son, to whom he had been fondly

attached. To secure himself an undisturbed old age he united a second son in marriage with Cogan's daughter. This conciliated his younger and more imperious fellow-settler; the Irish princes lived upon good terms with them, and appearances seemed to promise that the veteran would die in peace and content. A treacherous crime dissolved the vision. Mac Tire, a native chief, invited Cogan and the young bridegroom, heir of Fitzstephen, to a feast, and murdered them at it. The princes of Thomond and Desmond, taking advantage of the crime, roused their followers and flew to arms. There was a general effort to expel the settlers. In this extremity Fitzwilliam le Gros marched from Wexford to relieve his uncle, and soon compelled Macarty to sue for a humiliating peace. Fitzstephen was freed from danger, but the boon came too late to be appreciated. His sufferings had deprived him of his senses, and he drew out the remainder of his life a confirmed lunatic. Such was the fate of two of the original invaders—Cogan and Fitzstephen; another, Hugh de Lacy, fell by the hand of a common assassin. Upon his tomb might not unaptly have been engraved the line so true and touching of the philosophic bard—

"Immemor sepulchri struit domos."

He was in Meath building a castle upon the ruins of an old abbey, when a man sprung from the works, and with an axe, which he had concealed under his mantle, severed his head from his body with a blow.

De Lacy's government has been generally commended, and seems to have been able and determined. He married a daughter of King O'Connor, and studied to link the Irish and English interests together. But his death defeated an aim which, even had he lived, the interference of the king would in all probability have as suddenly cut short.—The next governor was Philip de Bruce or Braosa, a man of whose fitness for so arduous a post it is enough to state, that having obtained a grant of lands in Limerick, he fled from the spot as soon as he found himself opposed, and could not be prevailed upon to strike a second blow for its occupation.

In 1175 a new expedient was resorted to: Prince John was created Lord of Ireland. This was one of those false movements into which Henry's want of confidence in his barons was constantly precipitating him. Conscious, no doubt, of the capital weakness of his Irish government—sensible that his possession of that kingdom never could be permanent or beneficial until some supreme and sovereign authority came to be concentrated, and obeyed in it,—he made choice of his son as the instrument to accomplish a policy hitherto so imperfectly and unfortunately developed. The Pope lent his aid as before to strengthen the appointment, and issued a bull granting the lordship to John, in the terms of his too partial father's disposition of it. The Irish clergy received the document with due ceremony and a ready support. But the prince was a boy only fourteen years old, when thus elevated to be the personal governor of kings made crafty by misfortune, and lords grown grey in arms and worldly knowledge. A few years, it is true, intervened by way of preparation, before he took possession of the lordship; and he was accompanied to Ireland by some men eminent for prudence and ability. But however high their merits, and however quick Henry's perception of the points in which his Irish policy failed of effect, the instrument he made use of on this occasion proved so weak, as to render the new administration as little productive of good as any that had preceded it. John himself was constitutionally disqualified to govern any kingdom or people well; and evinced at the very beginning of his career the infirm mind, wilful temper, and all the love of pleasure which characterized his whole life, and proved the bane of his subsequent government.

John entered Ireland with a peacock's tail, presented to him by the Pope as his token of investiture; and the levity with which he conducted himself was characteristic of the emblem of his authority. The Irish chiefs who came in to do him honour were made sport of by the minions of his giddy court. Attired in their native dress of loose linen robes and flowing mantles, with long hair and hanging beards, they approached

to give him the kiss of peace, according to the custom of their country, but were haughtily pushed back. Their beards were plucked in derision, and they were thrust forth insultingly from his presence. These angry men retired to their homes burning with revenge. According to Campion, they reported abroad the rebukes and villany to which they had been subjected by their meekness; they complained that the lord they came to honour was but a peevish and insolent boy, governed by flatterers, youngsters, and prowlers; and they asked, not without reason, if despite and dishonour had so soon been offered to them who were frank and tractable, what the state of Ireland had to look for should the English once yoke and pen them in their clutches? Thus exasperated they were soon in arms. Macarty of Desmond attacked Cork, where, on the eve of victory, he was slain by Fitzwalter; but this advantage was counterbalanced by the death of Robert le Poer, who fell in Ossory. Gerald Barry and his troop were slaughtered at Lismore; other reverses were sustained, and general insecurity prevailed throughout the English settlements. It was to protect himself from these dangers that John built the castles at Lismore, Tibroughney, and Ardfinnan—some ruins of which still remain.

The necessary recall of the beardless ruler after an eight months' government replete with mischief and misfortune, led to the appointment in his room of De Courcy, a man not unsuited to so difficult a command. But John, being continued lord of Ireland during the reign of his elder brother Richard, who seems never to have bestowed a thought upon that country, quickly displaced not only De Courcy, but governor after governor in such rapid succession that every year witnessed a change.

Amongst these was De Lacy, son of Hugh the original invader, who held the post twice; and William, earl marshal of England, who had married Isabella, a daughter of Strongbow. In 1197, Hamo de Valois became chief governor. According to common report he was a private gentleman from Suffolk. Being reduced to the utmost straights for want of money, he

seized upon the property of the church, which was at that time under the authority of Archbishop Comyn, a prelate ill-disposed to allow such a freedom to pass without condign punishment. To complete the general disaffection, Comyn laid the country under the ban of excommunication with all the pomp and display peculiar to that once formidable ceremony. This sealed the fate of Valois, who was recalled in disgrace, fined, and then restored to his possessions. Meyler Fitz Henry, natural son of Henry, and one of the early invaders, became the next representative of the royal authority. A few facts will give an idea of the respect in which it was held at the period.

De Lacy, twice governor, was twice in arms against the crown. He, De Burg in Connaught, and De Courcy in Ulster, were all three at war as independent powers; and not against each other only, but against their sovereign; while different chiefs in Munster and Connaught sprung into repeated insurrections. Fitz Henry, however, was equal to his situation. He brought De Burg to terms, and detaching De Lacy from his alliance with De Courcy, set those two barons into hostilities one with another. But he had scarcely reduced all parties to a state of passing submission, when John, taking affront at the independent power which De Lacy and De Braos had acquired as victors in the recent struggles, paid Ireland a second visit in 1210.* The objects of his anger fled to France, where, after a temporary concealment, they made the clergy their friends, and were restored to

* The weak and fretful sovereign is said to have undertaken this journey to revenge himself of a woman's tongue. When threatened by the Pope with excommunication, he thought to make sure of the attachment of the great barons, by demanding their sons as hostages. Amongst others, he applied to De Braosa, who, besides his large grant in Thomond, held land in Wales. The wife of De Braosa, with more point than discretion, retorted that her children should never be entrusted to one who could murder his own nephew. Stung by the sarcasm, John vowed vengeance against the whole family, and he fulfilled it direly. The husband and wife separated, and for awhile the mother and children found concealment in Ireland. They afterwards fled to Scotland; but being dodged by the tyrant's emissaries, were seized and committed to Bristol Gaol, where they are reported to have died of want and persecution.

their lands and titles upon paying a fine. John received the homage of various Irish chiefs—in number 20 according to some accounts, and 70 according to others—who went through the ceremony as an unmeaning form, and immediately after defied his authority. He visited Limerick and Waterford, and after a short stay of three months returned to England in no respect more powerful than when he left it.

John's second visit is principally memorable for the attempt made under his auspices to introduce civil institutions and some English laws into Ireland. The plan, being sadly defective and one-sided, proved a failure. Nor was it by any means so well defined or comprehensive as many writers have represented. There are legal records to indicate that some of the counties which John is said to have formed did not exist for years after. The district, such as it was,—or rather, so much of it as the English could from time to time retain hold of,—henceforward bore the name of the Pale, and was regarded as the proper territory of the invaders. Sheriffs and officers of justice and assize were appointed, and the common law of England established, with some grave exceptions. By a fatal error, its benefits were not extended to the natives. The five principal septs—the O'Connors of Connaught, Macmurroghs of Leinster, O'Lachlans of Meath, O'Briens of Thomond, and O'Neils of Ulster, declared free by Henry of the statutes of England, were still to retain the privilege, but neither protection nor justice was provided for the mere Irishman: the law even declared that he might be killed with impunity.*

* "The Irish had originally stipulated with Henry II. for the use of their own laws. They were consequently held beyond the pale of English justice, and regarded as aliens at the best, and sometimes as criminals in our courts. Thus as by the Brehon customs, murder was only punished by a fine, it was not held felony to kill one of the Irish race, unless he had conformed to the English law."—*Hallam* ("*Constitutional History*")—who, after Davies, quotes from the Assize at Waterford, 4 E. II. (1311), the following pleading, of which a translation is here offered to make the rule of law intelligible to every reader.

"Robert de Wayless, charged with the death of John, the son of Ivor Mac Gillemory, feloniously by him killed, &c., comes and well knows that he killed the said John—says, nevertheless, that he could not commit felony by killing the said John, because he says the said John was a pure

Two separate races were thus constituted legally distinct in rights and privileges,—a mistake of the first magnitude, and the more to be regretted inasmuch as the circumstances of the country were in other respects favourable to that liberal comprehension of all the people under the protection of the king's government, which was the true policy of the conjuncture. Roderic O'Connor, the chief king, after having been driven by his rebellious sons an involuntary recluse into the monastery of Cong, had expired after a forced confinement of 12 years. His heirs fighting impiously amongst each other had wasted their strength as they had dishonoured their blood, and it would have been more equitable as well as

Irishman, and not of the free blood—and when the lord of the said John, whose Irishman the said John was, for the day on which he was killed, shall seek quittance for John his Irishman so killed, he the said Robert will be prepared to answer as to the said quittance, as justice shall persuade. And thereupon came one John le Poer, and says for our lord the king, that the said John the son of Ivor Mac Gillemory, and his ancestors of the cognomen aforesaid—from the time at which Henry the son of the empress, formerly lord of Ireland, the great grandfather of the now king, was in Ireland—should have the English law in Ireland to this day, and by that law be judged and arraigned."

So much for killing a mere Irishman. Another plea, quoted in Dr. Taylor's "Civil Wars," shows how an Irishman's land might be ravished with impunity. It occurs among the Rolls of Pleas 28 Edw. III.

"Simon Neal complains of William Newlagh, that he with force and arms, on the Monday after the Feast of Saint Margaret, at Clondalkin, in the county of Dublin, broke the said Simon's close, and his herbage, with oxen, calves and sheep, consumed and trampled, contrary to the peace, &c., whence he says that he is damaged to the amount of twenty shillings, and thereof &c.

"And the aforesaid William comes now and says, that the aforesaid Simon *is an Irishman, and not of the five bloods;* and asks judgment if he be held to answer him.

"And the aforesaid Simon says, that *he is one of the five bloods,* to wit, of the O'Neales of Ulster, who, by the concession of the progenitors of our lord the king, ought *to enjoy and use the liberties of England, and be deemed as freemen;* and this he offers to verify, &c.

"And the aforesaid William says that Simon *is an Irishman, and not of the O'Neales of Ulster, nor of the five bloods;* and thereupon issue is joined &c. Wherefore let a jury &c.

"Which jurors say upon their oath, that the aforesaid Simon is of the O'Neales of Ulster, and is of the five bloods; which, by the concession of the progenitors of our lord the king ought to enjoy and use the liberties of England, and be deemed as freemen; and they assess the damages at ten pence. Therefore it is considered, that the aforesaid Simon should recover against the aforesaid William the damages aforesaid, and that the aforesaid William should be committed to jail until &c."

humane upon the part of John, to have availed himself of the acts of homage performed to him by Roderic and so many others, and have claimed the whole kingdom by right of that allegiance, than to have left the greater part of it a prey to the wild ambition and uncouth attacks of his English feudatories. The privileges granted to those individuals, and the extraordinary powers they already possessed, would have made this, doubtless, a difficult policy to carry into effect. Nevertheless the assertion of the principle was not the less expedient. As it was, the English settlers, who enjoyed their grants with baronial franchises, and afterwards as county palatines, limited the range of English law to the narrowest bounds. In by far the greater portion of the king's territory the king's writ could only run and his judges enter, as Mr. Hallam testifies, within the lands of the church—while the baron held exclusive civil and military judicial authority, enfeoffed tenants to hold by knight's service of himself, and took by escheat the lands of those attainted of treason. These were almost royal rights, and legally possessed. We have seen how quickly they who held them were to forget that they were subjects, and to act with sovereign independence by making, like the great feudatories of France and Germany, peace and war at their own peasure. Thus all the evils of the primitive tenure of lands peculiar to the Irish were confirmed and perpetuated; while others were superadded, which aggravated the general wretchedness of the land, and made the people the slaves of an iron oligarchy.

Strongly as we are led to this conclusion, it is at the same time proper to observe, that ideas of a better state of things seem to have prevailed, and that some efforts were made to realise them. The patents of Henry and John to individuals, as well as the charters of incorporation granted by them to the chief towns of Ireland, contained the provisions usually inserted in the corresponding English documents, for mitigating the rigour of the baronial power, by introducing courts of justice. Thus, De Lacy, De Courcy, Fitz Stephen, Cogan, and the others, received their estates hereditarily, upon the

established terms of homage and military service; and they were also to hold courts for deciding controversies and punishing delinquents. So far, therefore, as the feudal law may be considered the common law of England at this period, Henry and John appear to have been well disposed to make it a constituent part of every authority set afoot by them in Ireland. This, however, can by no means be held to constitute a grant or extension of the laws of England to Ireland. De Courcy, for instance, may have appointed his seneschal, constable, chamberlain, and other officers in Ulster; and he may not only have heard and adjudicated, but may have endowed other bodies with the power of hearing and adjudicating all pleas and suits between his tenantry, not excepting those of murder, theft, fire, and blood; and so, too, for instance, the first charter incorporating the citizens of Dublin may have conferred upon them "the laws of Bristol and free trade;" but it will still be necessary to show, that the Dublin merchant was at any time allowed to become a free trader, or that there was a court in Ulster to which every Ulster man, injured in property or limb, could carry his complaint, and obtain justice. Proof will also be required, if we are to suppose any laws, limited or comprehensive, to have been introduced, that they were either regularly or systematically put in force. Perhaps, the more we read with this view before us, the more likely we are to think that the rights and liberties conferred, constitute one subject of inquiry, and that those exercised and enforced constitute another. The privileges of the Five Bloods were acted upon to some extent at least, as appears by a Tower Roll of the first year of King John, referred to in Lynch's "Feudal Baronies," where Richard Gille Michel pays 66 marks for permission to compound the appeal which Owen O'Brien had brought against him for the death of his father. But this evidence disproves the case set up by those who contend for a grant of English laws,—exhibiting, as it does, a special and not a general application of them—and leaving the mind still depressed by the belief, that but little justice was ever ordained, and still less was administered.

Equally weak is the pretension of another class of writers, who, finding the word "parliament" recurring frequently in the oldest Irish muniments, venture to declare that a deliberative and potential body was created and continued by Henry II. and John, and thus that the third great estate of the constitution flourished in Ireland before it came into existence in England. The truth is, that the Irish had the name of parliament, but certainly knew nothing of the reality.* Henry appointed a commune consilium, or common council, of the chief governor, the archbishop of Dublin—and their peers, and to this body Henry and John addressed the royal ordinances which they deemed laws. Some consulting and executive functions may thus have accrued; but it is an abuse of language to describe such an institution as the parliament of Ireland, in the modern sense of the word. In short, we can discover, by diligent search into the papers connected with the Irish expedition, here and there a few traces of a design superior to the execution, and the faint records of some partial attempts to establish law, to administer justice, and erect the institutions of civilized society;—but, equally at the council chamber and in the baronial court, the ruling authority for ages will be found to have been the drawn sword, and the passions of him who had most strength to wield it cruelly. Hence a long reign of tumult, oppression and bloodshed, in which we should lose sight of the people altogether, but for the frequent occasions on which we are called upon to count the number of their dead bodies covering the field upon which their hard and haughty lords decided their monstrous quarrels.

How idle, then, to talk of settled laws, an established go-

* "Before that time the meetings and consultations of the great lords with some of the commons, for appeasing the dissensions amongst themselves, though they be called parliaments in the ancient annals, yet, being without orderly summons, or formal proceedings, are rather to be called parleys than parliaments:—which must be thought a very mild term by every unprejudiced reader of their performances, who will, I think, feel inclined not improperly to define them conspiracies for the gratification of the most angry passions, the promotion of private ends, and the legalizing of the most atrocious robberies and murders."—*Davies' Discovery.*

vernment, and a constitution, where, generation after generation one fight followed another in hot succession, only to decide who, from among the host of struggling magnates—all strong, but equally rash and unstable—by which every small district was convulsed, should snatch an insecure hold of temporary dominion! Not one person is seen to move upon this bloody theatre of perpetual war, from the king of England down to the pettiest chieftain, who does not appear in a constantly shifting and simulative character—sometimes seeking to evade the exercise of the powers he claims as positive, but oftener striving to exceed and augment them. The English monarch, styling himself Lord of Ireland, recognizes and upholds a number of Irish kings. By a Close Roll in the Tower of London, Henry II. ordered a talliage of the barons of Ireland; and the kings of Connaught, Thomond, and the other kings of Ireland. Even so late as the reign of Edward, we have an address from no less than five Irish kings. Here the inferior title possesses the superior power,—a condition incompatible with order, strength, and prosperity in a community. But more fatal still was the state of the English barons, which, being the most definite, ought to have been the most constant, and was the most abused. During the iron-bound centuries in which those antagonistic autocrats pushed forward their terrible career, it is as vain to look for the operation of settled laws, established government, or a constitution in the country, as it would be to travel over the dismal wastes of an Arabian desert with the hope of meeting with flowing waters and a luxuriant herbage.

CHAPTER IV.

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF THE CONNECTION WITH ENGLAND—*continued.*

GRADUAL SETTLEMENT OF THE ENGLISH IN IRELAND.—THE FITZGERALDS, EARLS OF KILDARE AND DESMOND; THEIR AGGRESSIONS UPON THE MACARTYS, CHIEFS OF DESMOND, AND THE O'BRIENS, KINGS OF THOMOND.—THE SECOND MAURICE, REPEATEDLY LORD DEPUTY, COMPROMISED IN THE DEATH OF RICHARD EARL OF PEMBROKE; HIS EXPLOITS AND CHARACTER. —ORIGIN OF THE DE BURGS; ACQUIRE CONNAUGHT AND EXTINGUISH THE ROYAL FAMILY OF O'CONNOR; WARS BETWEEN THEM AND THE GERALDINES, MACARTYS, AND O'BRIENS.—MAURICE FITZMAURICE FITZGERALD IMPRISONS THE LORD DEPUTY, AND RICHARD DE BURG PUTS O'BRIEN ROE TO DEATH.—UNNATURAL FAMILY WARS OF THE O'BRIENS.—QUARREL BETWEEN JOHN FITZTHOMAS FITZGERALD AND WILLIAM VESCEY, LORD DEPUTY —THE LAWS IMPROVED WITHOUT AVAIL BY THE LORD DEPUTY, SIR J. WOGAN.—CAREER OF THE RED DE BURG.—INVASION OF THE SCOTCH UNDER BRUCE.—DECLINE OF THE DE BURGS AND PARAMOUNT ASCENDANCY OF THE GERALDINES.

The progress of Irish history subsequent to the English invasion exhibits little more than a rude account of the dispossession of the native chiefs by the English adventurers, who threw themselves fiercely upon the country in quick succession for many years after that event. A gradual course of systematic encroachment—at times insidious, but more generally violent—enabled a few great leaders to fix themselves upon the land, and seize extensive tracts of it, with various rights and privileges, some real and others assumed, which may be shortly and not inaptly summed up and described as a general licence for unlimited oppression. Intermixed with the narrative are intricate details of inveterate rivalries and exterminating feuds amongst the spoilers. For, in proportion as the predatory knights succeeded in their attacks upon the inhabi-

tants, they grew jealous of, and sought to overturn each other. The enmities thus engendered amongst the victors produced contests as desperate and disastrous between them as were any of those which they themselves carried on against the Irish. Thus two great contending movements agitate the body of Irish history, and overcharge it with action without increasing its interest. During the course of these odious proceedings, many were the knights and barons who fought and won lands and founded families. Of the whole number, two or three for several centuries usurped paramount importance, and may be said to have levied war for absolute dominion in their own part of the country—which, when gained, made them dictators also of the sovereign in England. These were, the Fitzgeralds, afterwards earls of Kildare and Desmond; the De Burgs, afterwards marquises of Clanricarde; and the Butlers, afterwards earls and dukes of Ormonde. Thus, the history of Ireland, in point of fact, resolves itself into a recital of the feuds and fights by which three powerful families gained supreme ascendancy over their own peers and the native chiefs. The Fitzgeralds and De Burgs were the first to engage in a struggle for tyranny; and when, after many vicissitudes, the Fitzgeralds triumphed, the Ormonde family stood forward to dispute the advantage; and after a long conflict succeeded in completely destroying the power and in extirpating the race of their rivals—men who, for extent of possessions and barbaric sway, were perhaps unmatched by any family established during the concurrent period in the civilized portions of the globe.

Amongst the earliest English adventurers who landed in Ireland at the head of hostile forces, the fourth in rotation was Maurice Fitzgerald, second son of Gerald de Windsor, Lord Carew. The circumstances under which this family came to push their fortune on a fresh soil were every way favourable to their advancement, and the men themselves appear to have been endowed with all the qualities most fit to enable them to turn their rank and position to profit. Maurice was Fitzstephen's half-brother. Raymond le Gros, who, if

Strongbow must be accounted the head, was certainly the hero of the invasion, was his nephew, and soon became intimately connected with Strongbow by a double tie—first, through his marriage with Strongbow's sister; and next, by the marriage of his own son and heir, either to another sister, or some near relative whom it is now impossible to identify. In every part of Ireland into which the English arms penetrated, Maurice Fitzgerald was present, and bore a manly share of the dangers and sufferings of the expedition. He acquired lands in the extreme South-east and West—in Cork, Wicklow, Wexford, Kildare, and Sligo,—and stood high in reputation amongst his comrades. The Chronicles observe of him, that "as he was of birth and parentage nobly and worshipfully descended, so was he in condition, and for natural prowess, every way renowned." He was named one of the joint governors to whom Henry II. committed the charge of the kingdom, but died within seven years after his arrival in Ireland, and was buried outside the walls of Wexford.

According to Cambrensis, his contemporary and kinsman, Desmond—from which the Fitzgeralds afterwards took one of the titles by which the family is principally distinguished in Irish history—was an extensive territory spreading from Waterford to Kerry, and ruled, at the time of the invasion, by the Macartys, a powerful native family who enjoyed the rank of independent princes, and occupied Cork as their chief city. Their estates were vast, and their consequence, judging from the accounts furnished* by the local histories, supported by high prerogatives. They numbered, we are told, amongst their tributaries, the several septs of O'Sullivan, Macdonough, O'Donnough, O'Keiffe, O'Callaghan, and Magauley; from whom the dues and services exacted, so late as the reign of Elizabeth, were by no means inconsiderable. O'Sullivan Bear, for instance, when taking out a patent for his estate in that reign, found it necessary to recite in the deed that he was

* Smith's Cork, vol. ii. p. 42.

bound to aid Macarty in war with all his forces; to render him five gallowglasses; a beef, or 6*s.* 8*d.* in money, for every arable plough land on his estate; to pay a toll of half-a-crown for every ship that came to fish in his harbours; to entertain Macarty, together with his train, whenever he visited Dunboy; to provide him hounds and spaniels to sport with, and perform various other obligations of a like kind. It may be added here, by way of further evidence of the consideration in which the Macartys were held down to a late period, that two members of the family were peers during the reign of Elizabeth; namely, the Macarty More, or head of the family, who was created Baron Valentia and Earl of Clancare; and the Macarty Reagh, who received the title of Baron Muskerry.

When Henry arrived, Dermod Macarty was the reigning prince of Desmond, and one of the first of those who did homage. A few years after, when his son revolted, he claimed and obtained, by virtue of that submission, the succour of Le Gros Fitzwilliam, and was restored to his principality by English arms. For his services on that occasion, Macarty endowed Le Gros with an extensive tract of valuable land in Kerry, which is retained by his general heirs to this day. Cambrensis says, that Macarty, upon being released from confinement, clapped his son in his place, and cut off his head. That seems doubtful; it is certain, however, that the old prince himself met with a violent end, and from his new allies. It was in 1177* that the English restored him to his principality, and almost immediately afterwards, a grant from Henry to Cogan and Fitzstephen stripped him of it all. He appears to have struggled for a time against his fate, but in 1179 compounded for liberty to retain 24 cantreds of land, at a small annual rent. A compact so unequal in its effects was not likely to be respected. Unable to reconcile himself to the harsh terms of intruders, who never ceased to trespass and disseize, Dermod joined more than one insurrection during the course of 1185. In one of

* Giraldus Cambrensis, and Smith, Histories of Cork and Kerry.

these, after laying waste several English settlements, he marched against Cork. A parley was agreed upon as soon as the besiegers approached the city, which, however, was broken by the garrison, who sallied unexpectedly from the walls, and put the assailants to flight at the first charge. The next year a conference of the Irish chiefs was invited at the same city, where Dermod had a quarrel with Theobald Walter, who slew him with his own hand.* Quickly as these misfortunes succeeded each other, they did not exhaust, however they may have lessened, the strength of the family. Dermod was succeeded by Donald Macarty in Carra, so called from a river of the same name in Kerry—who, when the southern chiefs took up arms upon the murder of Cogan in Cork, was foremost in the field; but he came to terms with the English in 1196,* enduring severe conditions as the price of temporary rest.

Desmond† adjoined the territory of the O'Briens, kings of Thomond, a warlike race, who, in resisting the invaders, exhibited a valour fully equal to the great name and possessions they inherited from a long line of ancestors. Contiguous properties and a common interest often united the Macartys and O'Briens as allies, and many of their operations were eminently successful. In Limerick and at Thurles, the king of Thomond matched his strength gallantly with the English; and while William Earl Marshall was governor, Limerick was assaulted and ceded to Desmond. But the fame of these triumphs was destined to be overcast by terrible reverses. In 1219, the Macartys, engaging in hostilities with the chief governor, were forced to submit; and ere long a collateral event, with which they were altogether disconnected, had considerable influence in precipitating their downfall, and transferring their large possessions to the race of the invaders.

* Giraldus Cambrensis, and Smith, Histories of Cork and Kerry.

† "Turloch, monarch of Ireland, father to Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, reduced Munster, and divided it into two parts, viz.—Desmond and Thomond, or North and South Munster: the first he gave to Donough Macarty, who founded the kingdom of Cork; and the other he conferred on Connor O'Brien."—*Smith's Cork.*

Maurice Fitzgerald, the fourth in succession of the family who settled in Ireland, was now lord deputy, and in that capacity received a writ from Henry III., by which the large estates of Richard, Earl Pembroke, were declared forfeited to the crown, and distributed amongst various barons, amongst whom, the lord deputy himself, the De Burgs and De Lacys were the chief. The unfortunate nobleman thus marked for ruin, was the heir of Strongbow, and through his wife the descendant of the Leinster kings. Young, impatient, and too confident in the strength he derived from his vast possessions to be overloyal or respectful to a weak sovereign, Pembroke had become obnoxious to Henry, and his wanton favourites in England, by the opposition he had somewhat boldly offered to their impolitic measures. Not being strong enough to overcome his power themselves, they sought to destroy it by offering it as a prey to the rapacity of the Anglo-Irish barons, whose swords were quickly drawn to carve it into pieces.

One of their number, Geoffry de Maurisco, added the crime of treachery to the general guilt of the party. When Pembroke, hearing of the meditated spoliation, repaired to Ireland to defend his lands and castles, this infamous adventurer met him as he landed, and while commiserating his wrongs and applauding his efforts to redress them, volunteered to make common cause with him—exhorted him to proceed with energy and terrify his enemies by brisk hostilities. This subtle advice, congenial alike to the ardent temper of youth and the bold character of the times, was adopted without hesitation. Maurisco accompanied the earl on several expeditions, which it is said were allowed to be successful, as premeditated feints to lure the victim into closer toils and irretrievable destruction. The barons retreated before him until they had concentrated their strength, and then proposed a truce to adjust their differences. The Curragh of Kildare was the place fixed upon for the meeting, and the unsuspecting earl made his appearance with Maurisco upon that broad plain at the appointed time. Certain terms of accommodation were proposed to him, and rejected, at the instigation of his crafty adviser. The

barons then insisted upon deciding the dispute in a pitched battle upon the spot. The earl consented: at this critical moment the false Maurisco marched his forces over to the barons, and abandoned the young earl, with only 15 followers, to resist 140 chosen warriors. Nothing daunted by these great odds, the gallant Pembroke stood his ground with a spirit worthy of his warlike race and descent, until his small band was overpowered by numbers. He was thrown from his horse, and as he fell a coward stuck a dagger into his back, which inflicted a mortal wound. His attendants carried him to Kilkenny, where he was left to expire, and was buried with his brother in the church of the Black Friars, which was the foundation of his father.

Upon his tomb, according to Hanmer, the following monkish verses were inscribed:—

> "Hic comes est positus Richardus vulnere fossus
> Cujus sub fossa Kilkennia continet ossa."

According to the same authority, the monument itself, as well as the building in which it stood, remained in good condition until the period of the general suppression of those establishments by Henry VIII., when the Black Abbey was violated, and the tomb of Richard, Earl Pembroke, with eighteen others belonging to his family and their contemporaries, was totally destroyed. His fame was long preserved by the common people, who have a peculiar affection for melancholy fancies, and gave the name of Ryder na Curragh, or the Curragh-killed Knight, to a solitary grave really erected to one of the Cantwell family, which escaped the general destruction. Some ruins of the Black Abbey still remain, and were lately shown by a Dominican friar, whom pious associations had settled in a small house adjoining the spot where the brethren of his order flourished centuries before in wealth and reputation.

For awhile the victors ravished Pembroke's estates with impunity; but at length the indignation excited by the crimes of which he had been a victim, roused the king of Scotland, who had married his sister, to demand the restoration of the in-

heritance to his brother Gilbert. Henry III., as fickle as he was false, threw the blame of his destruction upon the bishop of Winchester, and tardily acquiesced in this imperfect act of reparation. Fitzgerald, when called to account, took an oath that he was innocent of the earl's death, and professed to atone for his share of the outrage according to the fashion of the age, by engaging to found a monastery.

The services of this Maurice Fitzgerald are adverted to in favourable terms by Matthew Paris, Holinshed, and other writers. He discharged the high functions of lord deputy at three distinct periods, each of which endured some years. He made three journeys out of Ireland to Henry III.—once at the head of a strong force to aid the king beyond seas; next to clear himself of the death of the unfortunate Pembroke; and lastly into Wales, with a train, which, though considerable, was thought to have been reluctantly brought into the field. A suspicion of disloyalty thus suggested, led to the appointment of another deputy in his place. His character, as preserved by his admirers, is a high one. He was, we are told, a valiant knight, a very pleasant man, inferior to none in the kingdom, having lived all his life with commendation. When dispossessed of office he returned to the South of Ireland, and renewed those predatory incursions into the territories of the devoted Macartys, by which his family had already so fiercely distinguished themselves, and so largely profited. After wresting considerable property from that sept, he turned religious, and died a monk. He had begun to build a castle at Youghal; and passing by the work upon the eve of some festival, while the men were laying the foundation, was asked for money to drink his health, which he promised, and desired his son to give. But the latter, instead of obeying, abused the workmen roughly, and probably not in words only; for his father was so grieved at his behaviour, when it was described to him, that he converted the projected castle into a friary for Franciscan minorites, and afterwards taking the habit of the order, was buried there in 1257. He also figures in the "Monasticon," as the founder of the Dominican monastery at Sligo; and he

strengthened the family possessions in the North by building two castles—one at Armagh in 1235, and another at Sligo in 1242.

He was succeeded by another Maurice Fitzgerald, who acquired large estates in Kerry by marrying the daughter of Sir William Maurice, and survived his father only three years. The augmented inheritance of this wealthy marriage descended upon John Fitzthomas Fitzgerald, who followed the example of his sire in making Hymen, more than Mars, administer to the advancement of his fortunes. His wife, too, was a great heiress, Margery, daughter of Sir Thomas Fitzanthony, by whom he obtained the custody of Dungarvon Castle, and the lands of Decies and Desmond, with all their bailiwicks—princely possessions, from which one of the two great branches of his descendants took the titles by which they are most distinguished in the annals of Ireland. John Fitzthomas continued hostilities with the Macartys, who became desperate the more they were pressed to extremities. Upon one of these occasions, Fitzgerald and his son Maurice, at the head of a powerful body, consisting of 8 barons, 15 knights, and a proportionate force of inferior followers, set out upon an expedition planned to carry signal consequences. But the Macartys, who were assisted by several neighbouring septs, posted themselves in considerable numbers in an ambuscade upon the Geraldine line of march, near Callan, in Kerry, and falling unexpectedly upon their advancing lines, routed them with terrible slaughter. Of all the leaders—Fitzgerald himself, his son, the 8 barons and 15 knights—not one escaped the vengeance of the incensed natives.

The Fitzgeralds, father and son, were buried in the Franciscan friary at Youghal, already described as the foundation of Maurice, the second lord deputy; and it may be worth observing that Fitzgerald Callan—for the place of his death was made to supply him with a surname—married an Irishwoman, Honora, daughter of Hugh O'Connor. His son, slain with him, is memorable, like others of his family, for the property he gained in marriage with Juliana, heir of John Lord

Cogan, whose estates at Carrigiline, Carrigrohan, Castlemore, Moyallow, Rathrogan, &c. in the county of Cork, were thus brought into the Desmond branch of the Fitzgeralds.

This heavy blow struck down the growing power of the Geraldines during a long interval. They were so weakened by it, that none of the family, according to the historian of the county of Kerry, "durst put a plough in the land for 12 years." The heir, a child only nine months old, narrowly escaped the fate which his father and grandfather had shared. He was lying in his cradle at the Castle of Tralee, when the news of his father's slaughter arrived and struck terror amidst the household and dependents. The victorious Irish were supposed to be pressing upon the heels of the breathless messenger; a sudden panic arose—every one fled to provide for his personal safety—and in the midst of the general confusion the child was forgotten by its nurse. At this moment a pet monkey, fed in the family, caught him in its paws, and ascending to the castle battlements, dandled him in the air, with all the skill in mimicry peculiar to its species. There it amused itself by playing the part of nurse, while the people below, arrested in their flight, looked up in astonishment and fear. After a while the animal descended of its own accord, and replaced the child uninjured in his cradle. Nappagh signifies an ape in Irish, and in memory of this escape the surname of Nappagh has always been given to this Thomas Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, grandson of John of Callan. To this anecdote, moreover, are referred the apes which form the crest and supporters of the armorial shield of the Fitzgeralds, dukes of Leinster.

While Nappagh was yet a boy, the pretensions of the family to take a leading part in the affairs of their adopted country were well sustained by his grand-uncle, Maurice Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, youngest son of that Maurice who repeatedly filled the office of lord justice, from 1229 to 1245. The power possessed by this nobleman was considerable, and the feats he performed were proportioned to his power. Like his relations last spoken of, he seems to have had a due sense

of the value of rich matrimonial connections. He obtained for his daughter the hand of William, earl of Clare, a nobleman of great wealth and bravery, who fought with him in all his wars, and contributed largely to the success that distinguished his arms. Two formidable rivals, a De Burg and an O'Brien, were reduced to extreme distress by his prowess.

The first De Burg—the name originally was De Burgo, and it is now Burke—who came to Ireland, was William Fitzadelm de Burg, mentioned in the preceding chapter, where Campion's opinion of him is quoted. Cambrensis, his contemporary, was still more severe, adding—" He was covetous, proud, malicious, envious, a favourite of wine and women, and good to none but his back and belly; and by his back he understood his kindred, and by his belly he meant his children, for he opposed himself most enviously against the Geraldines, Fitzstephens, and Barrys, the first most valiant conquerors of the land." Personal resentment unquestionably overcharged the colouring of this portrait. The painter was a Barry, related to the Geraldines, and a Welshman: We are bound also to remember that the great aim and main policy of De Burg's administration was to break the power of the Welsh noblemen in Ireland, who had already formed the nucleus of a strong aristocratic faction, and ranked the Geraldines amongst their ablest and most determined leaders.

Fitzadelm de Burg, like the rest of the military men amongst whom he lived, was a liberal patron of religious establishments. Constantly committing acts which the mind in its calmer moments could not bear to reflect upon, the heroes of that rude age were too glad to compound with their consciences by bestowing a portion of the produce of their violence upon the church, which accepted the offering as an atonement for the outrages they had inflicted upon human nature. De Burg ranks as the founder of two monasteries in Ireland. The first, by Henry's command, was the famous monastery of Thomas à Becket, near Dublin, called Thomas' Court, for canons regular of the order of St. Victor; the charter of which received the king's confirmation at Oxford,

and continued in force until the dissolution of religious houses in the reign of Henry VIII. On his proper account, in 1200, he raised the abbey of Athassil, in the county of Tipperary, for canons regular of the order of St. Augustine. In this abbey Fitzadelm was buried about the year 1204, leaving by his wife Isabel—natural daughter of Richard I., and widow of Llewellyn, prince of Wales,—a son Richard, who received from King John, in 1215, the fee of his father's possessions in Connaught, at the yearly rent of 300 marks.*

Fitzadelm was succeeded by Richard, and Richard by Walter de Burg. Richard served the office of lord lieutenant, and received from King John, in 1215, a grant of all the land of Connaught held by his father. This grant was confirmed in 1218 by Henry III., after the death of Roderic O'Connor. Walter, marrying the heiress of Hugh de Lacy, thus became earl of Ulster, as well as lord of Connaught,—titles which, descending upon his eldest son, Richard, surnamed, from the colour of his hair, the Red Earl, made him the most powerful man in Ireland.

The proceedings by which this family succeeded in establishing themselves in their vast possessions were marked in the strongest manner by all the violence and faithlessness so characteristic of the daring party of whom they were leading members. We have seen how Fitzadelm, as the king's representative, received the homage of Roderic O'Connor, and as the king's favourite a grant of Roderic's kingdom. Thus in the one capacity he was the agent to guarantee the independence of possessions which in the other he was the instrument of violating. While such an example, instead of standing by itself, recurred in almost every case, what chieftain could place confidence in the king of England or his lords? Roderic's family rebelled against him, as already related, and after driving him into a monastery as the most suitable retreat for an inactive sovereign in dangerous times, began to fight one with the other for his fatal inheritance. The recklessness with which the De Burgs sided alternately with these unnatural combatants, would be as inexplicable as it is scandalous, but for

* Pedigree prefixed to "Memoirs of Ulick, Marquis of Clanricarde."

the obvious advantage always accruing to the man who can weaken by dividing the strength of those upon whose ruin he seeks to prosper.

In the contest between the O'Connors, Cathal, surnamed the Bloody Hand, defeated his cousin Carragh, and assumed the style of king. In the vigour of manhood, hot of temper, and quick in action, he called upon the principal natives to combine, and give effect to the spirit of vengeance burning within their bosoms against the despoilers of their lands and power. So congenial an invitation was answered promptly and vigorously: Macarty of Desmond, O'Brien of Thomond, and Mac Lachlan of Hy-Neal, successively joined the league, which was soon distinguished by a series of victories. The gallant Armoric St. Lawrence, hastening with a troop of 250 foot and 50 horse to assist De Courcy in Ulster, was surprised in an ambuscade, and perished with all his companions. The earl marshal was defeated near Thurles, and Limerick and Cork were captured. The English were without a post of strength in Munster, when the O'Connors, falling out with the sept of O'Neil,* broke up the union of the native chiefs. At this crisis the De Burgs stepped energetically forward; and now acting with, now against, the O'Connors, ceased not until they had destroyed the lingering remains of the strength and influence of the royal family of Ireland. Obtaining the custody of the lands presented to Braosa in Thomond, Richard de Burg retook Limerick, and erected anew the dominion of the English in Munster. As his triumphs increased, the ascendancy of Cathal, or the Bloody Hand, declined; and the party of Carragh O'Connor renewed their exertions to put their favourite in his place. In this movement De Burg took part: Cathal was dethroned, Carragh set up in his stead, and De Burg accepted from the king he had thus helped to make, a portion of that Connaught, the whole of which had been granted to him by King John. The Bloody Hand fled without desponding. He found refuge with the O'Neils of Ulster, courted and gained the support of De Lacy and De Courcy, and

* This name was originally Hy-Niall, and afterwards O'Neale: the modern way of spelling it will be adopted throughout this work.

brought them down to fight by his side a hard battle with his competitor Carragh and De Burg. The latter carried the field,—it were a waste of language to dwell upon the shameful light in which it exposes the English adventurers,—and again Cathal was abandoned by his followers, as one doomed to defeat. Even now he did not despair; but with an energy as subtle as it was restless, he contrived to win over to his side the rapacious De Burg, who had already begun to complain of the poor return made of the lands ceded by the new king for the services which had raised him to his uncertain dignity. A second engagement ensued, in which De Burg's co-operation again decided the victory. Carragh was killed; and the Bloody Hand once more swayed the broken sceptre of his ancestors. But even when his point was carried, he proved as loth as his late rival to fulfil his magnificent promises to his mercenary ally. De Burg, thus doubly deceived, mustered his forces, gave Cathal battle, and sustained a defeat. At last the lord deputy Fitz Meyler, finding his master's subject making not peace and war only, but even kings, as his caprice or his avarice suggested, put himself at the head of a strong force, and marching upon Connaught, reduced him to submission, without, however, depriving him of the means of renewing his unprincipled aggressions against both English and Irish.

Following, for the sake of a connected narrative, in detached parts, the progress of the De Burgs, we trace the rapid fall of the royal O'Connors, and find the king's authority, special charters and protections, insufficient to preserve them from destruction. This fact is attested by a string of records extant in Rymer, and quoted by Leland. Cathal, as a last expedient, relies upon the majesty of the English crown. He enters into a treaty with John, and becomes his vassal, surrendering two thirds, and binding himself to pay 100 marks a year for the remainder. He renews the engagement, and does homage in person; but nothing avails to preserve the rights or the persons of his family. Upon his death his subjects meet, according to prescription, and elect his son Turloch as

his successor. The lord deputy sets up another son, Aed; while the De Burgs put forward a third, Fedlim O'Connor. Turloch is soon removed, Aed is killed in a broil amongst the English, and at last the diminished kingdom is held by Fedlim. This prince is described by all the authorities as a prince of spirit and sagacity; but he suffered not the less from the aggressions of the De Burgs, who brought forward a brother to supplant him. His loyalty to the English crown seems unimpeachable, and equally so the earnest remonstrances he addressed to England with reference to reiterated violations of the treaty by which the remnant of their inheritance had been guaranteed to his house. But they were always sufferers, and lost alike in rebellion and in loyalty. At last we find Fedlim —the son of Cathal, according to some historians, and the grandson according to others—marching to join in the rebellion of Bruce, and meeting a soldier's death upon the field of battle. With that event the career of the O'Connors terminates in the annals of their country.

But the De Burgs, while thus accomplishing the extinction of the race of native kings, were not themselves exempt from a large share of the extreme reverses by which the intemperate age in which they flourished is so strongly characterized. Two of the family, Hubert and Richard de Burg, served the office of lord justice successively in 1227. This preferment, it will be remembered, was within the period during which, as already described, the second Maurice Fitzgerald swayed the chief authority in the kingdom; and it in all probability proceeded from the implacable dissensions between the two families. In this instance they both lost the royal favour; but of the two, De Burg's disgrace, according to Hanmer, was the more severe. Created earl of Connaught, and attached to the king's person with the office of lord justice of England, and the additional title of Earl of Kent, Hubert de Burg fell into utter disgrace—deservedly, if it be true, as related, that he intrigued against the king, and took 5000 marks from the queen of France to defeat his sovereign's projects. Henry's rage on discovering this perfidy was ex-

cessive: he upbraided De Burg violently, called him an old traitor, and rushing upon him with his sword, attempted to run him through the body, but was stopped by the earl of Chester and others who happened to be present. Escaped from this scene, Hubert sought refuge in the chapel of Brandwood in Essex, but was afterwards taken and sent to the Tower. The end of his career is summed up by Hanmer, from Stow and Holinshed, in a passage much superior to the ordinary style of his Chronicle:—"All his friends forsook him; none answered for him but the archbishop of Dublin; wherein we may see as in a glass the disposition of feigned friends in former ages; who, in the spring of a man's felicity, like swallows will fly about him; but when the winter of adversity nippeth, like snails they keep within their shells. At length this Hubert was so far reconciled to the king's favour that he was enlarged, yet banished the court; lastly, he ended his miseries at his manor house of Bansted, in Surrey, and was buried in the church of the Friars Preachers, which was then in Holborn."

Richard, the son of this Hubert, was the person upon whom, as already mentioned, Maurice Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald fell foul. The circumstances are worthy of notice. Fitzgerald had excited the displeasure of the lord justice, Sir Richard de Rupella—the family name has since become Roche—who levied an army against him, and obtaining the aid of the De Burgs, marched into the South to vindicate the royal authority. Fitzgerald, arranging his proceedings with judgment, surprised the justice and his followers at Castle Dermot, took him and Richard de Burg prisoners, and marched them away to his own district, where he held them for some time in close confinement. To encounter the king's troops in battle, and defeat them, was no rare occurrence at this time amongst the settlers in Ireland; but this Fitzgerald appears to have been the first who exceeded the license his order had previously assumed, by subjecting the representative of the crown to the indignity of close imprisonment. Nor did he soon repent of his daring: on the contrary, we are told that it was not without great

difficulty, and the strong entreaty of other noblemen, that he was at last induced to give the lord justice his liberty, after a parliament had met and passed a solemn order for the purpose.

The proceedings which led the unfortunate De Rupella into this quarrel, were, a campaign undertaken by Fitzgerald against the O'Briens, and the complete subjugation of their kingdom of Thomond, which he treated as a personal conquest. This achievement must have called forth the exercise of considerable military talent as well as a large army; for, of all the great Irish families who resisted the invaders, the O'Briens in the South, like the O'Neils in the North, by the extent of their possessions, the enterprise and valour of their successive chiefs, and the respect which ancient lineage, courage, and piety,—the commanding virtues of the age,—so naturally inspired, were the race who most distinguished themselves in the wars of the English barons. With a spirit which repeated reverses could not break, and a lively valour which, even when worsted, seemed to rebound from the field with as much energy as victory imparts to others, they harassed their opponents for ages, held out to the very last, and ultimately took a rank in the British peerage, to which the antiquity of their descent and the fame of their actions fairly entitled them.

When the English came to Ireland, the O'Briens were kings of Thomond—a large district, which, with Limerick for its capital, included all the county of the same name, Clare, and parts of Kerry, Tipperary, and probably other counties. The power and pretensions of the family may be judged of by the fact of their having recently been chief sovereigns of the whole kingdom. This, however, like every other Irish claim with which we are acquainted, was violently disputed. The dissensions it involved proved an ever-flowing source of bloodshed and weakness to all parties concerned. At this very moment, when the union of all the strength and resources of the country were required to expel the English, a fierce contest raged between Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, who

disputed the sovereignty with Roderic O'Connor, and by dividing the general means of national defence, left the detached forces of the different chiefs an easy conquest to their well-appointed opponents.

Donald had married Urlacan, daughter to Dermod Mac Murrogh, and through his influence procured two of the earliest invaders—Robert Fitzstephen and Maurice Fitzgerald—to march with their followers into Thomond, and repulse O'Connor, who had overrun a considerable portion of that kingdom. From this relationship with Dermod Mac Murrogh, and the opportune aid rendered by his English friends, a steady alliance might be supposed to have subsisted between O'Brien and the latter. But of all the strange and perplexing features presented by the history of Ireland—and more particularly in its early portions—there is none which recurs more frequently, and is more unaccountable, than the double part which almost every man who occupied a prominent station seems to have performed. We have, in point of fact, two sides to almost every conspicuous character. The career of Donald O'Brien supplies more than one proof of the truth of this remark. We have seen that he sought and received assistance from the English: yet when Henry, at the instigation of Mountmaurice, sent over commissioners to bring Raymond le Gros Fitzwilliam before him, and to call Strongbow to account for the manner in which he was governing the country, Donald rushed upon the city of Limerick, and so distressed the garrison by a close siege, as nearly to starve them into a surrender. At this intelligence the troops in Dublin were no doubt purposely stirred into a mutiny, and Raymond was detained, as the only person fit to extricate the English from the distress in which they found themselves. Raymond accordingly made choice of his men, and marched to Limerick, while O'Brien, raising the siege, advanced to Cashel with more valour than judgment, and met the enemy half way. A battle ensued at the pass of Cashel—a place naturally very strong, and on this occasion rendered apparently invincible by trenches sunk, and

thick hedges of raised trees interwoven together. The English entered the field, reinforced by a body of Irish under the prince of Ossory, who, long at variance with O'Brien, forgot the cause of his country, like so many others, and seized upon this opportunity to gratify a personal resentment. The incident is related in the English Chronicles; and certainly, if the speech put into Ossory's mouth upon this occasion, or anything like it, was ever spoken, we are not to be surprised that such a man was not patriotic—anything less generous, less gallant, or more sheerly politic than the following plain address, it would be difficult to conceive. Both sides were ready to begin the battle, when the Irish prince stood forward, and turning to the English forces, is stated to have delivered this harangue:—"You worthy, noble, and valiant conquerors of this land.—You are this day valiantly to give the onset upon your enemies, which if you do after your old and accustomed manner, no doubt the victory will be yours; for we with our sparthes, and you with your swords, will so sharply pursue them, as they shall very hardly escape our hands, and avoid our force. But if it so fall out—which God forbid—that you be overthrown, and have the worse side, be you assured that we will leave you, and turn to our enemies, and take part with them. Wherefore be of good courage, and look well to yourselves, and consider that you are now far from any fort or place of refuge; and therefore if you should be driven to fly, your flight will be long and dangerous to you. As for us—ye may not trust in us, for we are determined to stick to them who shall have the victory, and to pursue and be on the jackes of them who shall fly and run away; therefore, be no longer assured of us than whilst ye are conquerors."

Inflamed at these words, proceeds Hanmer, Meyler Fitzhenry entered the pass suddenly like a blast of wind, pulled away the bushes, and broke down the hedges; the pioneers made plain the way; and so with no small slaughter of the enemy they marched without any peril to Limerick, where they relieved the army and set things in order.

One of those hollow truces so often made, and so seldom kept,

was now entered into, and Donald remained inoffensive until the death of Strongbow recalled Raymond le Gros to Dublin. Though he seems to have doubted the fidelity of the king of Limerick at this crisis, Raymond paid him the compliment of appearing to rely upon his honesty. Accordingly he sent post for him, and proposed to surrender the town to his keeping as a feudatory of the English crown. Donald, according to Cambrensis, accepted these terms gladly, and ratified them with strong oaths, the most solemn vows, and several hostages. But the English force had no sooner marched over the bridge that crosses the Shannon, than he broke it down behind them; and declaring that none of their race should any longer remain within his territory, resumed for another brief interval the dominion of his ancestors.

But perhaps the power of the O'Briens is shown more by the munificence of Donald in building and endowing abbeys and churches, than in his military exploits, several of which were conducted on a large scale, particularly one against the castle of Ardfinnan, in 1185. He enjoys the credit of having erected the cathedral of Limerick, and a church at Cashel; of having founded the abbeys of Kilmonay, Corcumro, and Innis Clua Ruda in Clare; and the celebrated abbey of Holycross in Tipperary,—great and expensive undertakings for one man to engage in at so early and unsettled a period.

King Donald died in 1194, leaving two sons, Donogh and Murrogh, of whom the first assumed the style of king, and the second that of prince of Limerick. Jealous of each other, these barbarous brothers pursued different policies—the former inclining to the English, and the latter opposing them. In 1207, Murrogh was seized, at the instigation, as is said, of his brother, by the English, and deprived of his eyes. Donogh O'Brien, in common with many other of the great evil-doers of his age, was a large benefactor to the church. The cathedral of Cashel was enriched by his gifts, and the convent of Friars Preachers at Limerick founded by him in 1227. He was succeeded by his second son, Connor O'Brien, who revived the old feuds with the O'Connors, and engaged in several encounters

with that sept, the last of which cost him, and a son named John, their lives.

This calamity was aggravated by the unnatural strife, so peculiar to Irish families of rank, which continued to rage amongst his descendants. The sovereignty ought to have descended on Turloch O'Brien ; but a junior heir, Brien Ruad, was preferred by a rival party. They drove Turloch to arms, and he succeeded in defeating and deposing the usurper. Such was the distracted state of Thomond, when, as already mentioned, Maurice Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald married his daughter to Thomas de Clare—a descendant of Strongbow, whom Edward I. had just thought proper to invest with a large tract of land in Thomond. Upon arriving at Cork, with a strong body of followers, to take possession of his grant, and finding a rejected claimant to the local throne, De Clare entered into a prudent agreement, by the terms of which he undertook to replace Brien Ruad in his kingdom, and Brien engaged to ratify the king of England's grant, by conferring upon De Clare a tract extending from the city of Limerick to Ardsolas. Both sides performed their parts of this agreement—Brien Ruad was reinstated in the sovereignty, and De Clare entered into possession of his lands, upon which he built Bunratty Castle, of which some remains are standing to this day.

But this success was soon turned into defeat. Turloch O'Brien applied for succour to his old enemies, the O'Connors; and they, making friends at the spur of the moment, espoused his cause with vigour, and plunged resolutely into the war, which was fiercely prosecuted on their side. At length a pitched battle was fought at a place called Magh Gresian. Fitzgerald and his son-in-law, De Clare, with many knights, veterans in arms, led a strong and well-appointed body. But the impetuosity of the united O'Briens and O'Connors was irresistible—the English were routed with considerable slaughter, and in the pursuit exposed to many cruelties. Smarting under the disgrace of defeat, and the sufferings it entailed, they turned upon O'Brien Ruad,* and put him to death,—a

* The death of Brien Ruad is specified in the Irish Remonstrance to Pope John XXII., quoted by Mr. Hallam from Plowden's History,—a

scandalous and atrocious outrage, which only aggravated their distress. The whole country rose indignantly against them—they retreated into fastnesses and mountains, but were closely pursued; detached parties spread themselves over the country, and finding their strongholds unprotected, assaulted one castle after another, and thus carried Bandon, Athleek, Roscommon and Sligo. Still the English, though reduced in numbers, and harassed by a superior force, preserved themselves from being taken by keeping to the mountains, until the Irish found means to corrupt some stragglers in Offaly. By their treachery both Fitzgerald and De Clare were betrayed, and compelled to capitulate upon mortifying terms. The Irish held them prisoners until, agreeing to make satisfaction for the death of O'Brien Ruad, they gave hostages for the observance of the compact, and delivered up the castles of Bunratty and Roscommon, together with the lands De Clare had received from Edward as the price of his unfortunate interference. With this disaster, the career of Maurice Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald may be said to terminate—the only remaining information preserved of him being, that he died at Ross, in 1286, leaving a son, Gerald, who followed his father to the grave the same year without issue. Here again we are

document which charges other crimes of the same treacherous description against the English. The English, it says, who inhabit our island, and call themselves a middle nation (between English and Irish), are so different in their morals from the English of England, and other nations, that they can with the greatest propriety be styled a nation, not of middle, but of extreme perfidiousness; for they have long followed the abominable and nefarious custom, which is becoming more inveterate every day by repetition, of inviting a nobleman of our nation to dine with them, and in the midst of the entertainment, or in the unguarded hour of sleep, spilling the blood of our unsuspecting countrymen; and, after concluding their detestable feasts with murder, selling the heads of their guests to the enemy. Just as Peter Bruinicihibane, since called the treacherous baron, did with Maurice de S——, his fellow sponsor, and the said Maurice's brother, Calnacus—men much esteemed for their talents and honour amongst us. He invited them to an entertainment on the feast of the Holy Trinity, and the instant they rose from table murdered them, with 24 of their followers, and sold their heads at a high price to their enemies. He was arraigned before the king of England, father of the present king of England, but no justice could be obtained against so nefarious and treacherous an offender. In like manner, Lord Thomas Clare, the duke of Gloucester's brother, invited to his house the most illustrious Brien Roe O'Brien of Thomond, his sponsor, &c.

struck by another of the many forcible proofs constantly presenting themselves to remind us of the correctness of the view already taken of the true nature of the English hold of Ireland, and its false and feeble government. More than a century had elapsed since the invasion, and we behold one of the settled barons potent enough to wage successful war with the king and imprison the viceroy, but beaten in his turn, and broken down himself, by the combined forces of the outraged Irish.

Had it been at all compatible with the wild nature of Irish kings and chieftains to compose their personal animosities and harmonize intestine broils, a conjuncture had now been reached at which unanimity and energy might have effected great ends for their country. But the opportunity was lost. It is useless to ask whether this proceeded from the vice of old habits, or some constitutional perversity: the fact appears to be as incontestable as it is reproachful, that the Irishmen of former ages never either agreed amongst themselves, or acted together against their common enemies, for any length of time. Had the O'Briens and O'Connors—who still retained the rank, power and popularity of legitimate independent sovereignty so long enjoyed by their ancestors—cemented in the present instance the alliance which had so recently proved auspicious to their arms, and persevered in joint operations, the result, in all human probability, would have been signal. The O'Briens, however, forgot their real foe, in the rancorous excitement of family contentions, which broke through all the bonds of relationship and trampled on all the principles of patriotism. The son of Brien Ruad contested the sovereignty with Turloch, and succeeded, with the aid of the Macartys of Desmond, in displacing him for an interval from power; but was himself soon after defeated in battle, and lost his crown and his life on the same adverse field.

Meantime Fitzgerald of the Ape,—or, as the Irish called him, Nappagh,—the head of the Geraldines, had grown up to manhood, and now stood forward to sustain the character and pretensions of his house on the troubled theatre of his country's

politics. His possessions and power were so considerable as to gain him the popular title of prince of Munster: he was constituted lord justice in 1295, and died the year after; but is particularly memorable as the father of two fortunate sons—Maurice and John—respectively created earls of Desmond and Kildare, from whom the family branched out into two great arms, which for centuries overspread the South of Ireland; and of which the latter still subsists in the person of the only duke in the Irish peerage—his Grace of Leinster.

Passing over—because they exhibit only such features as the reader of Irish history must now be too familiar with—some campaigns waged between the Geraldines and De Burgs, on account of the reiterated complaints of oppression made by the O'Connors in England, and in which the latter seem by the king's direction to have been assisted by the Geraldines; our attention is challenged in an especial manner by the bold success with which one of the Ape's sons bearded the king's deputy in the plenitude of his authority, and so hardily sustained his pretensions in the presence of the king himself, as to procure the degradation of his opponent, and afford another proof of the irresistible influence of his overbearing family. The particulars of this broil, so descriptive of the character of Irish history, are circumstantially related by the English chroniclers, who report at length the set speeches said to have been delivered by the disputants before the king, and furnish a story, which, whether for the quaintness with which it is told, or the incidents it embraces, is not a little curious.

The lord deputy who met with this signal discomfiture was William Vescey, a Yorkshireman, whose integrity and steadiness, according to some accounts, had recommended him to Edward as a fit person to allay the discontent produced in Ireland by an attempt to obtain payment of an ecclesiastical grant, which the Pope had undertaken to cede to the crown, by way of aid towards an expedition to the Holy Land. The Irish church protested with religious energy against this interference with its property; and it was ultimately agreed, that instead of a tenth of the revenues of the

refractory clergy, the king should receive a fifteenth of the effects of the more patient laity.

The difficult task of conducting this heavy negotiation to an agreeable issue was intrusted to Vescey. An Irish governor, placed in such circumstances, became obnoxious in proportion as he was able and well disposed. The cause of the discontented barons found a ready champion in John Fitzthomas Fitzgerald, who embroiled himself fiercely with the deputy. This, too, was but natural: to enforce the king's demands it was necessary to expose the exactions so long committed by the barons with habitual impunity, and to insist upon a better order of things for the future. The Geraldines, as the chief of those who had so freely indulged the license of doing whatever they pleased, could hardly avoid resenting proceedings, which operated at once as a punishment of the past excesses of their ambition, and a check upon their further continuance.

Vescey, according to the plain-spoken Campion, was a stern man and full of courage, but rash and imprudent of tongue. After some time wasted in fruitless remonstrances, he summoned Fitzgerald before him, and openly charged him with rioting, with ranging unseasonably with his followers through the country, and preying inordinately upon the community—not for the advancement of the public weal, but to gratify his malice and the grudge he bore his private enemies. Stung by this language, Fitzgerald, we are told, retorted:—"By your honour and mine, and by King Edward's hand, you would, if you durst, impeach me of plain felony. I have the title and you the fleece of Kildare. I wot well how great an eye-sore I am in your sight:—if I could be handsomely trussed up for a felon, then might my young master, your son, become a gentleman!"

"Gentleman!"—retorted the deputy, losing his temper,—"since you dare me, I will surely break your heart—thou art a notorious thief and murderer!" This, we are given to understand, being more than the Geraldines could endure with patience, they fell upon the deputy's train—swords clattered, the soldiers

on both sides engaged, and at last each leader was obliged to interpose and appease the anger of his followers. Vescey, leaving his lieutenant behind him, hastened over to complain to the king, and charged his opponent with felony. Fitzgerald followed at his heels, and retorted with an accusation of high treason. They met upon a sort of trial before Edward, and are represented to have entered upon their respective cases in elaborate harangues. Vescey denounced Fitzgerald as the root and crop of all the late enormities in Ireland—as having attended secret meetings, encouraged the disaffected to spoil his majesty's peaceable subjects, and made him, the king's governor, an object of hatred—and of all this he engaged, if a short adjournment was allowed, to produce such clear proofs, as, if his face were made of brass, he should not be able to deny one article booked against him.

Fitzgerald's answer, if the Chronicles may be relied upon, was a torrent of insulting eloquence, winding up with this peroration ;—" Yea, I bear such a stroke with the Irish, as that upon any quarrel I am able to annoy them ! What then ? Because the baron of Offaly can revenge his private injury without the deputy, therefore the deputy may not vanquish the weak and naked rebels without the furtherance of the baron of Offaly. Now the contrary ought to be inferred, as if a private man can tame the Irish, what may not the magistrate do that hath the prince's pay ? But indeed it is hard to take hares with foxes. You must not think, Mr. Vescey, that you were sent into Ireland to dandle your trulls, to pen yourself within a town or city, to give the rebels the gaze, to pill the subjects, and animate traitors, to fill your coffers, and to make yourself, by marring true men, to gather the birds whilst others beat the bushes, and after to impeach the nobility of such treasons as you only have committed. But, forasmuch as our mutual complaints rest upon the one's yea, and the other's nay, and that you would be taken for a champion, and I am known to be no coward ; let us in God's name leave lying for varlets, bearding for ruffians, booking for scriveners, pleading for lawyers, and try with the dint of the sword (as becomes

martial men to do) our mutual quarrels: therefore to justify that I am a true subject, and that thou, Vescey, art an arch traitor to God and my king, here in the presence of his highness, and in the hearing of this assembly, I challenge the combat."

The king, it is asserted, admitted the combat; lists were provided; but when the time arrived, Vescey did not appear. "He was slipped away," we are told, to France—whether by choice or stratagem is not explained; was disinherited; and his lands in Kildare bestowed upon the daring Geraldine.

A triumph accompanied with so many marks of personal honour and gratification was not calculated to inspire Fitzgerald with humbler notions than he had formerly cherished of his own consideration and the influence his family commanded. He returned to Ireland not only flushed with the heat and pride of unusual greatness, but insolent with success, and assumed a lofty air and determined bearing, which showed that he meant to brook no equal. In this humour, pretexts were soon discovered for a fresh quarrel with the old rivals of his house, the De Burgs, who had, on their parts, not been much behind the Geraldines in accumulating lands and distinctions by the same arts and practices.

It has been briefly stated in the preceding chapter, that when the veteran De Courcy overran Ulster, and obtained the earldom of that province, the government, jealous of the power he might thus have the means of founding, instigated his former companion in arms, De Lacy, to attack and wrest those large possessions from him. In this his last encounter, neither extraordinary personal valour nor superior experience in arms availed De Courcy—defeated in battle, he was betrayed in his retreat, imprisoned, and deprived of his lands and title, which were awarded to his victor.* In 1243, this

* A few lines sufficed for this great transfer. The following is King John's Grant of Ulster to Hugh de Lacy, A.D. 1205. Patent Roll, T. L. 6 John.—"The King to Meyler Fitz Henry, &c. and the Barons of Ireland, &c. Know ye that we have given and granted to Hugh de Lascy, for his homage and service, the land of Ulster, with the appurtenances, to have and to hold as John de Curcy held the same the day on which

splendid fortune passed to the De Burgs, upon the death of Hugh de Lacy the younger, whose only child, Maude, had been married to Walter de Burg. The head of the Burgs thus became earl of Ulster as well as the actual possessor of nearly one half of the whole country.

This enormous inheritance descended to Richard de Burg, son of Walter by De Lacy's daughter, who from the colour of his hair was called the Red Earl, and took rank in the Irish parliament, and on all public occasions, as the first nobleman in the land. The Red Earl led a long and active life, during which he appears to have borne his vast honours in several, though by no means in all, instances with a proper spirit and becoming effect. He undertook some considerable expeditions on the king's service into Scotland; engaged, like all others of his race and rank, often with the Irish; was also frequently embroiled with the Geraldines, and was more than once worsted and made prisoner by them. The blow struck by the latter on the first of these occasions was followed by measures of unusual boldness. They felt that they were now raised decidedly above their late competitors for power, and resolved to retain fast hold of the advantages they had acquired until the consequences they had long sought for were fully realised. They resisted all overtures for the release of their prisoner with so fierce a pertinacity, that the lord deputy, Sir John Wogan, was obliged to summon a parliament in Kilkenny for the purpose of composing the feud. In this instance the deputy, a man of talent and discretion, succeeded in vindicating the authority of government. He impeached Fitzgerald, who submitted to the king's mercy. The Red Earl was released, and the Geraldines were disseized of their lands and castles in Sligo.

The composition of this strife was not the only service ren-

the same Hugh overcame him in the field, or the day preceding: Saving, however, to us the crosses of the same land:—and know ye, that we do retain with us the aforesaid Hugh, and are leading him with us in our service; and therefore to you we command that his land and all his you preserve, maintain and defend as our demesne. Witness myself at Windsor, the 2nd day of May."

dered by this able deputy for the better government of Ireland. In the same parliament,—to which, for the first time in that country, the return of two knights for each county and liberty was directed,—he proposed and carried a series of measures, conceived with equal vigour and prudence, for the suppression of the harassing evils which the factious barons were always fomenting. These enactments suggest distinct ideas of the extremely disorganized state of the country. A new and more equal division of the counties was made, and to each a sheriff was ordered. A lord marcher, with a proper train, was directed to maintain the necessary wards in each county, under a penalty of forfeiting his lands if he failed in the duty; all tenants were ordered to arm themselves according to their station; all lords were forbidden, on the one hand, to levy war without the king's mandate, or a license from the chief governor; or, on the other, to make any but general and equal truces with the Irish; and a truce once concluded on fair and general terms, insidious hostilities or molestation of the natives was expressly forbidden. To repress depredations of this kind, every lord was declared responsible for the acts of his kerns and retainers, and two lords in every county and liberty were invested with full powers to conclude such negotiations with the natives as should suffice to protect their district from vexation or attack. The growing propensity amongst the English to adopt the dress and observe the usages of the Irish, was noticed and visited with specific penalties; and, altogether, a code of laws was ordained, which reflected honour upon Sir John Wogan, and showed that he was intimately acquainted with the condition of Ireland, and eminently gifted with the talent required for devising means to relieve it from some portion of the oppression under which it had so very long groaned.

But difficult as it is generally found to obtain good laws, it is often still more difficult to prevail upon governments to carry good laws, when made, into effect. In this instance the lord deputy applied the high qualities of his mind to no purpose. Statesmanlike and firm as his views and proceedings were, his

statutes remained upon the rolls of parliament, records of his capacity, and of the doom of the country in which they were destined to remain a dead letter. The lords could not dispute his propositions with any show of reason, and they agreed to register them as legal enactments,—well knowing that no authority existed in the country strong enough to compel them to observe any ordinance whatever, to which it was their interest or their pleasure to refuse obedience.

The failure of this statute, which was passed at Kilkenny, in giving the forms of civil government to Ireland, was quickened by the recall of Sir John Wogan, who, although appointed to his office no less than five times in a period of thirteen years, was never left in it long enough to give his measures a fair trial. Amongst others to whom he was made to give way, was Piers Gaveston, the favourite of Edward II.—a man who, however reprehensible his conduct may have been in England, displayed considerable enterprise in Ireland, and enforced the respect of the Irish chieftains, against whom he carried on several vigorous expeditions, resulting in temporary tranquillity. But as it always happened that, in proportion as the king's deputy exerted ability or gained success, he was sure to become obnoxious to the lords, Gaveston excited their envy and resentment, not solely because his government was effective, but also because it was sustained with unusual parade and magnificence. The Red De Burg, who conceived himself the most powerful as well as the first in rank of the Irish nobility,—who had himself assumed the style of sovereignty—keeping court at Trim, and conferring knighthood on his followers,—took especial umbrage at the manner in which the favourite displayed his authority; and was actually preparing to defy him in arms, when the impatient partiality of his master called him back to England, and left De Burg no other field for hostilities than the old territory of Thomond. In that miserable kingdom two O'Briens—Donogh and Dermod—were again contending for the bloody honours of its petty sovereignty. The Red Earl espoused the pretensions of Donogh, which was a challenge to

the Geraldines to join their forces with his rival. Scenes of outrageous violence and desperate contention ensued, ending in the signal defeat of De Burg, who was again captured, with many of his adherents. In this extremity Sir John Wogan resumed the office of deputy for the last time, and applied himself anew to the wholesome labour of pacifying these ancient foes. On this occasion the circumstances of the case were by no means so favourable to De Burg as they had formerly been. He was compelled to submit to terms dictated by his conquerors; but the lord deputy had the address to soften the mortification of concession by the ties of relationship. He negotiated a marriage between two of De Burg's daughters and Maurice and Thomas Fitzgerald, afterwards created earls of Kildare and Desmond; and thus enjoyed the satisfaction, as he vainly imagined, of laying the basis of lasting amity between two families which had been enemies for ages.

A memorable event now occurred, which diversified the course of military affairs in Ireland, and for an interval threatened a new order of things altogether. Bruce, the patriot king of Scotland, having achieved his great victory over Edward II. at Bannockburn, despatched his brother Edward, with an army of 6000 men, to claim the sovereignty of Ireland. This bold measure produced the liveliest excitement amongst all parties in that country. De Burg was married to the sister of King Robert Bruce. The connection, amongst so malignant a body as the Irish barons, his compeers, could hardly fail to raise a suspicion that the Red Earl favoured the pretensions of the Scotch invaders. It is proper therefore to notice the circumstances handed down to us which contradict the imputation. De Burg not only led his own troops against the Scotch, but roused the O'Connors to join him in the war, and presented a prompt and formidable resistance to the invaders. Too confident, however, of his own resources, and too vain of his pretensions, he insolently refused the proffered co-operation of the lord deputy; and having sustained a defeat, and also lost the alliance of the

O'Connors,—whose recent attachment to the English crown was not proof against the visions of resentment and regeneration excited in their bosoms by the Scotch incursion,—the country was left open to the ravages of Bruce's army, who overran it with excessive violence. In the midst of these disasters the people of Dublin seized the Red Earl as a traitor, and clapping him into prison, insisted upon his confinement for a length of time, although the English government did not hesitate to declare itself satisfied of his innocence.

While the honour and prosperity of their formidable rival were thus overclouded, the Geraldines distinguished themselves by their efforts to defend the English monarchy. Combining their utmost strength when Bruce penetrated into Munster, they presented the first successful opposition to his progress; and being opportunely aided by a force from England under Roger Mortimer, they turned the tide of the war, which ultimately terminated in the death of Bruce and the destruction of his army. The services performed by the Geraldines in this contest—which, though briefly related here, extended itself over a period of three years—were the more signal, inasmuch as, until they rallied their resources in Munster, Ireland seemed to be lost to the English. The O'Connors, who had first opposed Bruce, afterwards joined him with all their strength—the O'Briens of Thomond and the native princes of Meath and other territories following their example, swelled the Scotch army to a force that carried all irresistibly before it, until the Geraldines at a critical moment stopped its progress in the South. For this eminent service John Fitzthomas Fitzgerald, who led the family during the progress of these campaigns, was created earl of Kildare. The victors, when the war was over, beheld themselves the lords paramount of all Ireland.

The punishments that fell upon the Irish chiefs who had espoused the Scottish cause, or the exactions by which the country generally was reduced to the severest distress, are painful and uninstructive points, upon which it is needless to enlarge. The independence of the ancient house of the royal O'Connors now received its final shock; the O'Briens suffered

heavy losses; and the De Burgs—though they had signalized their loyalty to the English throne by various energetic and successful diversions against the Irish in Thomond and in Connaught—were nevertheless so keenly pressed by the watchful vigour of the active Geraldines, that a period was put to their further advancement. In process of time the Red Earl took advantage of a parliament held at Kilkenny, to retire in form from public life. The style in which this act was performed showed the greatness of his wealth, and was not unaccompanied with dignity. He invited all the nobility attending the parliament to an entertainment, and after having regaled them with a magnificence never before equalled, he took a respectful and friendly leave of them, and retired to a monastery, in which he died during the same year, at an advanced age. An only son survived him, whose sole heir was foully murdered by his retainers; upon which event the earldom of Ulster passed with a female heir into the royal family, in the person of Lionel, duke of Clarence. The remaining De Burgs, adopting the manners and customs of the Irish princes whom they had supplanted, no longer appear to claim their former rank or power amongst the titled nobility who aspired to the office of being governors of the country. They assumed Irish names, and for more than two centuries—from about the year 1300 to 1530—disappear from history as leading members of the English interest in Ireland. In the reigns of Henry VIII., Charles I. and Charles II., however, they resumed their former position, and contributed two eminent men to the service of their party, with the titles of earl and marquis of Clanricarde, —which are still retained by their descendant, Ulick Burke, marquis of Clanricarde, and lately ambassador at the court of St. Petersburg.

CHAPTER V.

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF THE CONNECTION WITH ENGLAND—*continued.*

RISE OF THE BUTLERS, EARLS OF ORMONDE.—FAMILY CHARACTER OF THE BUTLERS AND GERALDINES CONTRASTED.—ACCOUNT OF THE MARISCOS.—EDMOND BUTLER STEMS THE SCOTCH INVASION UNDER BRUCE, AND IS CREATED EARL OF CARRICK.—GENERAL FEUD BETWEEN THE GERALDINES, BUTLERS, AND BERMINGHAMS ON ONE SIDE, AND THE POERS AND DE BURGS ON THE OTHER.—THE IRISH PETITIONS FOR ENGLISH LAWS REJECTED.—COMPLETE TRIUMPH OF THE GERALDINES IN THE CAREER OF MAURICE FITZTHOMAS FITZGERALD, FIRST EARL OF DESMOND.

About the period at which the De Burgs had reached the height of their political prosperity, another family* sprung up,

* Perhaps as clear a view as any other that can be reached within a short compass of the political consideration enjoyed by the different barons who settled in Ireland, is to be obtained from the list of persons who served either as lord deputy or lord justice, from the reign of Henry II. down to that of Charles I. By examining the contributions of each family to the roll, we perceive how far each stood pre-eminent in the government of the country. And if in taking this brief survey we also bear in mind that rank in the council, during the several centuries embraced in the period referred to, was the index of territorial estate—and that, although personal merit bore its weight in the competition maintained for office, still that ability, however commanding, never advanced a man, however accomplished, to place, when unaccompanied by landed possessions—we shall have no incorrect idea of the extent to which property and power were amassed by a few hands, and of the mode by which, when amassed, they were maintained. Of the first invaders it will be remembered that Strongbow left no son, and that an heir male soon after failed the Earls Marshall of Pembroke, to whom his grants principally descended. De Courcy, the next person endowed with a whole province as the reward of his services in the expedition, was despoiled and driven out of the kingdom by the son of his old commander, De Lacy. His family, though not extinguished in the male line, never recovered the shock of his fall; and thus the Geraldines, De Burgs, who took the inheritance of De Lacy, and Butlers, proved the only leading members of the original band who produced lines of descendants to preserve the excessive estates they respectively obtained and augmented, and who were fortunate enough to be able to found upon them a political influence proportionably overwhelming. The extent of both is indicated by the number of members out of each family filling the office of lord deputy or lord justice from the Invasion to the Commonwealth, in the following list:—

which not only filled the void created by their disappearance during a long interval from the roll of office, but efficiently supplied their place in resisting the licentious pretensions of

Fitzgeralds.	De Burgs.	Butlers.
1172. Maurice Fitzgerald appears with Archbishop Henry de Londres in the first commission issued by Henry II.	1177. William Fitzadelm de Burgo.	1215. Sir Edmund Butler.
1219. Maurice Fitzgerald.	1227. Hubert de Burg.	1247. Theobald Butler.
1229. Maurice Fitzgerald.	— Richard de Burg.	1312. Sir Edmund Butler.
1232. Maurice Fitzgerald.	1333. Sir Thomas de Burg.	1315. Sir Edmund Butler.
1272. Maurice Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald.	1650. Ulick Burke, Marquis of Clanricarde.	1329. James Boteler, Earl of Ormonde.
1295. Thomas Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald Nappagh.		1359. Ditto ditto.
1320. Thomas Fitzjohn Fitzgerald, Earl of Clare.		1364. Ditto ditto.
1326. Thomas Earl of Clare.		1377. Ditto ditto.
1355. Maurice Fitzthomas, Earl of Desmond.		1384. Ditto ditto.
1367. Gerald Fitzmaurice, Earl of Desmond.		1392. Ditto ditto.
1371. Maurice, Earl of Kildare.		1405. Ditto. ditto.
1375. Maurice Fitzthomas, Earl of Kildare.		1407. Ditto ditto.
1405. Gerald, Earl of Kildare.		1408. William Fitzthomas Butler, Prior of St. John, Jerusalem.
1455. Thomas, Earl of Kildare.		1419. James Butler, Earl of Ormonde.
1461. Ditto.		1424. Ditto ditto.
1463. Ditto.		1426. Ditto ditto.
1468. Ditto.		1440. Ditto ditto, two commissions in the same year.
1478. Gerald, Earl of Kildare.		1443. Ditto ditto.
1480. Ditto.		1450. Ditto ditto.
1483. Ditto.		1521. Pierce Butler, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory.
1484. Ditto.		1528. Pierce Butler, Earl of Ossory.
1496. Ditto.		1643. James Butler, Marquis of Ormonde.
1503. Ditto.		1648. Ditto ditto.
1509. Ditto.		1661. James, Duke of Ormonde.
1513. Ditto.		1664. Thomas Butler, Earl of Ossory.
1515. Ditto.		1665. James, Duke of Ormonde.
1519. Sir Maurice Fitzgerald.		1668. Thomas, Earl of Ossory.
1526. Gerald, Earl of Kildare.		1677. James, Duke of Ormonde.
1526. Sir James Fitzgerald.		1682. Richard Butler, Earl of Arran.
1529. Gerald, Earl of Kildare.		1684. James, Duke of Ormonde.
1532. Ditto.		
1534. Thomas Fitzgerald, Lord Offaly.		

the Geraldines to fashion the course of Irish events at their pleasure. This was the family of the Butlers—a strong and steady race, somewhat slower than some of their cotemporaries in putting forward their pretensions to lead in the administration of affairs, but who maintained their high position, from the first moment they obtained it, upon the whole, with a remarkable degree of firmness and moderation. They became many years afterwards marquises and dukes of Ormonde, and were ultimately the destroyers of the Desmonds, whom they fought to the last extremity, beat from their castles and lands, drove out of Ireland, and dogged in exile, until the last of that once mighty and memorable lineage became ingloriously extinct. The Butlers survive in John, marquis of Ormonde, now a lord in waiting on her majesty.

With the exception of these wars with the Desmonds, the general career of the Ormondes, when compared with that of other settlers, appears temperate and creditable. Their intercourse with the native Irish partook largely of the evil out of which it originally proceeded. Nevertheless, it must be admitted, that however censurable and cruel many of the enterprises were in which we find them engaged, not a few were positively forced upon them, while some were indispensably necessary to their existence. Placed as the family was with respect to rival adventurers, there was often no alternative to choose between complete conquest and implicit submission to the empire of their lawless usurpations—an empire enforced with a spirit which prided itself in showing, that as its founders put no limits to the extent of their territories, so they recognized no restraints upon the exercise of the vast power derived from them. Making a fair allowance on this score for different outbursts and atrocities which disfigure the campaigns of the Ormondes against the Desmonds, and admitting that in their intercourse with the Irish they were far from blameless, the history of their house is to be followed with considerable satisfaction. We do not trace in it invariable instances of unprovoked aggression and unprincipled spoliation. Instead

of always gaining land by fraud or force, and defending the insecure produce of rapine by fresh outrages, we find their estates increasing at a very early period by legitimate contracts, by equitable purchases and civil settlements; we observe them, too, in the wild commotions of successive ages, generally ranged on the side of law and government;—and lastly, in reviewing their full history, we see them contributing, far more liberally than their compeers, to the public service, men who acquired and merited the honours of a local and also of a national reputation, and who hold to this hour a high rank amongst their cotemporaries, not of Ireland only, but of Great Britain and the world.

Another peculiar feature in the history of the Butlers is that, late as they were in taking up a pre-eminent station, they were created earls before either of the great branches of the more warlike Geraldines obtained that distinction. The men who could thus stand out from the engrossing vices of their age, and prove themselves superior to their order in the higher labour of obtaining by the force of intellect advantages which manual violence might have more readily placed within their grasp, deserve no common praise. They did not, however, follow the more legitimate path to ambition with a pure and unstained character. If the rash and impetuous Geraldine rushed upon his object, spilling blood and destroying life whenever an impediment was thrown in his way; the staid and careful Butler was also prone to his evil practices, and has been held not to have achieved his fame without committing deep offences. He is often represented as being covetous, insincere, fraudful and unjust, recovering after defeat the advantages of victory, by persevering craft and double-faced address; and as little scrupulous in the covert practices of diplomatic injury, as his rivals proved unrelenting in the infliction of open wrong. "As fair and false as Ormonde," has so long been a proverb with the Irish, that we find it difficult to regard the stigma it has left upon the reputation of the family as the light impression of unprovoked resentment. Like the Geraldines, they present themselves

before us with characteristic blemishes; but of the two races appear thus far the less censurable—that they preferred the more peaceful arts of ambition, and offered least violence to society and the state in making themselves great.

The family name of the Butlers has been a subject of dry investigation, upon which very conflicting opinions have been pronounced. From the general summary prefixed by Carte to his "History of the Life of James, called the Great Duke of Ormonde,"—perhaps the most laborious and erudite tribute to the historical fame of an individual exhibited in the ample range of English literature,—it appears reasonable to believe that the original name was Walter, and that Butler was an addition, assumed from the office of Boteler, that is, butler or cupbearer—one very ancient and honourable at the king's court, which was filled by the heads of this family, under William the Conqueror, Henry I. and Henry II.

Popular as well as family tradition, and some emphatic legal documents, concur in representing the Butlers as blood relatives of the celebrated Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, through a sister, Anne Becket. Carte denies the derivation by blood, but conjectures * that the two families were united by a marriage, which, however, produced no issue. This theory seems as probable as any other it is now possible to adduce. That the families were once intimately connected appears to be nearly certain, but by what particular link it is now hardly worth while and would be vain to try to discover.

Theobald Walter, the first of the family located in Ireland, —a man of high station and considerable estates in England, —was bred under a maternal uncle, Randulph de Glanville, lord justice of England, and was conspicuous in the more peaceful portion of the invasion of Ireland. He came over, and probably returned, with Henry II., as he appears in the train of Fitzadelm de Burg, when appointed chief governor in 1177. From Henry he received several baronies in Tipperary and the adjoining counties, usually denominated the lands of

* History of Life, &c., vol. i. Introduction, p. xii.

Ely O'Garty and Ely O'Carroll. Carte supposes the description of Theobald de Hely, which occurs in cotemporaneous documents, to have been adopted from Ely O'Garty. Being already butler of England, Henry made him butler of Ireland also, and soon after gave him the prisage of all wines imported into the country—a lucrative sinecure, which suggests some interesting views of the condition and commerce of Ireland at an early period. The grant was two-fold: 2 tuns of wine out of every ship carrying 18 tuns which broke bulk in any trading port of Ireland; and proportionably for any lesser quantity when the cargo contained only 9 tuns, or a fee of £2 on each tun imported. This produced, according to a Pipe Roll of 11 Edw. I., £1,798 for the year 1282.

Amongst the various anomalies characterizing the English connection with Ireland at this early period, there is none, perhaps, more calculated to surprise us than the concurrent admission and contempt of the royal authority habitually manifested by the barons. We constantly see them in the course of the same proceeding resisting and recognizing it as the great source of their honours and possessions; and when driven to extremities, submitting to it almost invariably as the true centre and legitimate depositary of power. The dependence of the Irish barons upon the English crown is proved, in point of fact, by little else than a succession of rash and rebellious outbreaks upon the one side; followed by a series of weak, undignified, and inefficient pardons upon the other. But the aspect of this state of things, perplexing as it looks at first sight, assumes distinct features when closely examined. It must be admitted that the tendency of the feudal system, and the spirit of a large portion of the more brilliant actions to which it gave rise, had practically the effect of giving might the dignity of right. Many a potentate, great and petty, was prompted to deeds which would never have been attempted, but for the prevalent impression of the age—that gallantry, no less than policy, warranted a prosperous soldier in daring to do all he was strong enough to defend with success. While the half-formed minds of men were actuated by such opinions, proceedings the

most extravagant were sure to be hazarded upon the slightest pretexts. Fired by his lust for adventure and the passion to become as absolute as others in a bold age of reckless ambition and arbitrary power, the feudal baron seized the royal writ which awarded lands and castles to his arms, without pausing to reflect, that when he had wrested them from his enemy, a similar patent of dispossession might be issued against himself; and the monarch was weak enough to encourage a practice in reality most injurious to the stability of his power, because it flattered his vanity, and often gratified the interest of the day. In short, the feudal baron was loyal to the king, not as an absolute sovereign, but as the head of the aristocratic body of which he was himself an independent member. As the king stood above him, so there ranged under him others with inferior titles and more restricted powers; while one and all rested upon a common basis, and held together upon a graduated scale of licensed oppression, which allowed every man to tyrannize according to his degree.

The Butlers, like others, were occasionally made the sport of this many-headed tyranny; and the instances in which they suffered under it furnish us with clear proofs, that however obstinate may have been the misconduct of the Irish barons to the crown, it was not always wholly unprovoked. The family, as already stated, had its first grant of land from Henry, during his progress through the country. Of that property, however, they were afterwards disseized by John, who, according to Hovenden, sold for 4000 marks, to Philip de Braosa, all the lands of Philip de Wircester and Theobald Walter in Ireland. Nor was this a solitary case. When Fitzadelm de Burg, seeking to break the fast growing power of the first settlers, drove such of them as were not prepared to resist, from their more valuable holdings, and assigned them instead, other but less advantageously circumstanced lands, he took from the sons of the first Maurice Fitzgerald the castle and dependent lands of Arklow. These and others were given to Theobald Walter; but John, who seems to have

disliked the founder of this family as strongly as his father had liked him, snatched them away again, and assigned them to William, earl marshal. Facts so little at variance with the practices of the day would perhaps hardly deserve to be minutely specified, but for the evidence they supply of the character of moderation developed by the Butlers, even at the early date of this rude age. Theobald Walter, instead of flying to arms, as probably every other man of his rank and means would have done under similar circumstances, and taking back by force what the presumption of superior force had wrested from him, entered into a negotiation with the new grantees, and compounded for re-conveyances, which were successfully concluded in both cases for moderate sums.* In these transactions the advice and influence of his brother Hubert, a man of the highest reputation and steady conduct, who was lord chancellor and treasurer of England, would naturally have availed him much. The education he had himself received under the Lord Justice Granville would also have disposed his mind to rise above the level of his age, and to appreciate the surpassing advantages of civil policy over martial prowess in a transaction, which it requires no great penetration to perceive ought never to rest upon military defences. On this supposition the character of a whole race may have been formed in the mould cast by the superior education of an individual.

The benefactions of Theobald Walter to the church of Ireland were commensurate with his rank and wealth; consisting of the monastery of Arklow, for Cistercian monks; that of Nenagh,† in the county of Tipperary, for Augustin canons; and the abbey of Owney, now Abingdon, in the county of Limerick, where he was buried in 1206, and a

* The money given for the recovery of the estates in Tipperary is said to have been 500 marks.

† The foundation of the abbey or hospital of Nenagh was on a noble scale. Its lands were extensive, and at least thirteen beds were required to be furnished in it for sick persons, who were to have a loaf and a sufficiency from the cellar, with a dish of meat from the kitchen, daily —*Archdale's Monasticon.*

tomb was raised to his memory. He had an only son, Theobald, who was not more than six years old when his father died, and appears to have been put in possession of his estates July 18, 6 Henry III. Of this second Butler we know little more than that he was nominated lord justice in 1247, and died the year after. His wife was Joan, sister and co-heiress of John Marisco or Mountmaurice, whose estates, in default of male issue, fell to the Butlers during the reign of Richard II. With this family the Butlers seem to have been politically allied at an earlier period. In 1215, Geoffry de Marisco and Sir Edmond Butler were lords justices, and apparently retained the office for some years together. The old writers preserve details of the extinct family of Marisco, which justify us in describing them as being, of all the bold bad men engaged in the invasion of Ireland, the very boldest and the worst. Events already adverted to indicate the peculiar character of the race. Cambrensis describes the first who came over as an outcast. Another, as already stated, plotted against Maurice Fitzgerald; and a third was the betrayer of the gallant Richard, earl of Pembroke. An account of their crimes has been collected by Hanmer from Mathew Paris and Mathew of Westminster, which it may be worth while to recapitulate, with a prefatory observation or two.

The barons who settled in Ireland are distinctly portrayed in their actions. Descendants of the race who, sallying from Normandy, conquered England from the Saxons, they regarded the invasion of Ireland less as the repetition of a fortunate example, than as the extension and consummation of one and the same glorious enterprise. Living in armour, ignorant of books, and bound by little more than the pomp of religion, they had no heart, no sympathy with the humanities of life, no relish for repose. Animated by inordinate ambition and an insatiable greed for the acquisition of land, which was then the sole, as in our time it is a principal, foundation of titles, political power, and influence in society, they lived for no other purpose but that of winning estates; and as all men are prone to erect those qualities into a standard of honour,

which are most conducive to their worldly interest, they valued their possessions most highly when they were the rewards of military success. Judged by their own measure, they were men of a frank humour, firm purposes, and strong minds; neither mean nor sordid in their habits, and seldom hypocritical and deceitful. They marched straight upon an undisguised object, and pursued it with unscrupulous and obdurate vigour. When the body had become bent and the hair grown grey, many a stout heart, reflecting upon these inhuman courses, must have sunk with sadness. Old age must have shaken the fortitude of many an ancient victor with grief and fear. Religion then stepped opportunely forward to console him: at her dictation he built churches and founded monasteries, and died in peace, hopeful at last that he had appeased the wrath of Heaven, by satisfying the importunities of its ministers on earth.

Assuming this, upon a calm review of the character and conduct of the body, to be a fair description of the English barons who settled in Ireland, it is to be observed that the Mariscos differed in a marked and odious degree from their compeers. Jealousy, mistrust, envy, intrigue, duplicity and treason, darkened the career and shut out pity from the misfortunes of that wicked and worthless family. Geoffry stood charged with deeper crimes than his betrayal of the young Pembroke. He served the office of lord deputy; but fell into merited disgrace, if it be true, as asserted, that he was base enough to instigate his own son to murder the king. William, the youth thus unnaturally prompted, is said to have made his way privately to Woodstock, while the king lay there, and to have attempted, but failed, to reach his person at midnight. Upon being detected, he fled, and eluded pursuit. His father, hearing of the transaction, repaired to London, to defend his own conduct. At court he met a priest, named Clemens, who was said to have been sent from Ireland to divulge the particulars of the conspiracy he had entered into. As the surest means of closing the informer's mouth, and defeating the purport of his mission, he slew him in the

king's presence, and effected his escape to Ireland. Meantime his son, conscious of his insecurity wherever the king's authority was recognized, took possession of the Isle of Lundy, near Bristol, then uninhabited, and formed a band of pirates, whose captain he became. In this lawless pursuit his offences grew notorious: he plundered in all directions, until at last being seized, with seventeen of his confederates, he was taken to London, and having been dragged, with his whole party, to the gibbet, at horses' tails, he was hung, drawn and quartered. His father, whether struck with horror at his fate, or, more probably, warned of some confessions made before he suffered, left Ireland precipitately, and sought concealment in Scotland; but being soon after driven out of that country too, he stole through England, and reached France a beggar: there, pining away with grief and shame, he wished for and ere long came to his end. Once amongst the most noble of Ireland, he closed a guilty and unfortunate life, in the words of Hanmer's Chronicle, who relates his story, "dying pitifully, yet not to be pitied."

Besides the property obtained by the Butlers, through the marriage of the second Theobald with the co-heiress of John de Marisco, considerable additions to their estates were effected by the matrimonial engagements of his immediate successors. The wife of a third Theobald was Margery, daughter of Richard de Burg, with whom were acquired, besides other lands, the manors of Ardmaile and Killmorackill. A fourth Theobald increased his patrimony by a peaceful purchase, in 1297, of the large estates of Philip de Rupella (Roche), amongst which were the manor of Bru, with all the lands of the Bruins in the county of Dublin, the cantred of Omany in Connaught, and the lands of Crom.

Relying upon the accuracy of Carte's assertion, that four and not five Theobalds preceded the first earl of the family, we have now before us the progress of the pedigree and the principal additions to the property of the Butlers, down to the period, so nearly fatal to the English interests in Ireland, of the Scotch incursion under Edward Bruce. A leading part

in averting the dangers of that onslaught was performed by Edmond Butler, the first of his family who took the commanding political position in Irish affairs which his successors maintained with decided ability and increasing effect, until, after the lapse of centuries, they made themselves decidedly the most powerful men in the kingdom. So fully did this Edmond Butler stand upon an equality with the greatest of his cotemporaries, that if, in reading the particulars of his career, we change the dates and names of persons and things, the account will differ in no marked respect from those already given of the dominant nobility of the land. Thus we find him, after receiving the honours of knighthood in London, from Edward II., in 1309, joining John Fitzgerald to suppress a rising in Offaly and Connaught; and three years afterwards forcing, in his office of lord justice, those hardy septs, the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles, to submit to the king's government. He emulated the ostentation of De Burg, in giving splendid feasts and creating knights. Being re-appointed lord justice in 1314, he obtained a fee of 500 marks per annum for the expenses of his office; and by the address with which he secured the co-operation of the Fitzgeralds, and the energy with which he turned to account a subsidy granted by the parliament in Kilkenny, gained the chief honours of defeating the Scotch under Bruce, and was rewarded with an earldom, the highest title at that period conferred in Ireland. The patent, dated September 1, 1315, names him Earl of Carrick Mac Griffyn—it is now called Carrick-on-Suir—in the county of Tipperary. According to a cotemporaneous record, he was further enriched with the return of all the king's writs in the cantreds of Oreman, Ely O'Garty, and Ely O'Carroll, in Tipperary. Two years afterwards he received a grant of the lands of William de Carran, in Finagh and Faymolin, in the county of Waterford. These rewards stimulated further services, which, however opportune, call for no specific praise. They consisted of engagements with several of the Irish septs, amongst which were the O'Moores, O'Tooles, and O'Byrnes, against whom he was generally successful. As he advanced in years, he grew

religious, and was seized with a fit of penitential enthusiasm. This agreed with the prevailing fashion of the times, which made pious perorations of the kind no infrequent consequences of a life of bloodshed and crime. Butler, like many others, would naturally feel disposed to soothe, in his old age, a mind chafed, no doubt, and sore with the recollection of many wrongs and sufferings, to which, in the hot career of arms and ambition, he must often have been a party. In this state he undertook an expiatory pilgrimage to the shrine of St. John of Compostella in Spain ; and returned, it is to be hoped, with a lightened conscience, to London, where he was soon after taken ill and died, September 13, 1321, leaving behind him, upon the whole, a fair reputation.—The first earl of Carrick was fully equal, if not superior, in personal character, attainments, and achievements, to his cotemporaries of the same rank, amongst whom he obviously rose to eminence by seizing promptly and acting vigorously upon the spirit of the age. His body was carried to Ireland and interred at Gowran, in the county of Kilkenny, for many years the chief seat and burial-place of the family.

The Irish church presents itself to our notice about this period, busy with one of the few attempts to gain political sway of which we find traces in the early annals of the country. But Roger Outlaw, prior of Kilmainham, was now lord lieutenant, and the aspiring pretensions of the church were effectually suppressed by a churchman. As the particulars will be more appropriately explained under the head of religion, we shall proceed to relate that Roger had no sooner escaped undamaged from this clerical assault, than a commotion which the barons had for some time been agitating, broke violently forth. So excessive was the fury with which it raged, that his utmost skill and energy were heavily taxed to restrain it.

As it usually happened whenever the constituted authorities of the country were fiercely resisted, a Geraldine led the opposing force, and outran his compeers in lawlessness and presumption. The origin of this insurrection, for such an age,

was curious. Maurice Fitzthomas Fitzgerald, having borne a gallant share in the repulse of the Scots under Bruce, and broken the strength of the old rivals of his house, the De Burgs, had married, as already related, one of the Red Earl's daughters, and pushed the exorbitant power of his family still higher in the scale of fortune. His extensive estates in the county of Waterford adjoined those of Lord Arnold Poer*—

* Lord Arnold le Poer was the direct successor of Sir Roger le Poer, who came over with Strongbow, and is thus eulogized by Giraldus Cambrensis. "If it might be said without offence, there was not one man who did more valiant acts than Roger le Poer; who, although he were but a young man and beardless, yet he showed himself a lusty, valiant, and courageous gentleman; and who grew into such good credit that he had the government of the country about Leighlin, as also in Ossory, where he was traitorously killed (1189). Roger le Poer distinguished himself eminently in the reduction of Ulster under the brave De Courcy, and married a niece of Sir Amory St. Lawrence, ancestor of the earl of Howth, by whom he had a son, Sir Eustace. He succeeded to the estates in Waterford, and was the father of Lord Arnold, whose highest praise it is that he appears to have been the only member of the family who sustained the reputation of his ancestor, Sir Roger, and made a figure in the history of his adopted country. He held a command in the army which defeated Bruce.

The Poers were among the first of the English in Ireland who sat in parliament by writ of summons. They rank therefore amongst the original peers of Ireland. The family had also the title of Baron le Poer of Curraghmore, created 13 December, 1535; and Viscount Decies, earl of Tyrone, created October 9, 1673, upon the marriage of Richard, Lord le Poer, to Catherine, sole heir of John Fitzgerald of Dromana. These latter honours became extinct in the person of James, earl of Tyrone, who died August 19, 1704, and was buried at Carrick-on-Suir. There a tomb was erected to his memory, which—the parish church falling to decay—was lately removed to the chapel of Clonegam, near Curraghmore, where it may still be seen. James left an only daughter, the Lady Catherine Poer, married, July 16, 1717, to Sir Marcus Beresford, Bart., who having been made a lord by George I., was advanced to the earldom of Tyrone by George II., July 18, 1746. The more ancient title of Baron Poer of Curraghmore was claimed by his lady in fee from the Irish House of Lords, and allowed in 1767; but her right to this honour has been generally disputed, because the heirs male of her direct ancestor, John, Lord Poer, father to the first earl of Tyrone, are held to survive in the family of the Powers of Rathcormack.

The Poers of Curraghmore have been commended for the peaceful lives they led, and the good condition in which they kept their property. Lodge and Archdale quote an interesting account, given by Sir Henry Sidney, of a visit he paid to Curraghmore in 1575. In this despatch, strong testimony is borne to Lord Poer's honourable and plentiful style of living. His superior cultivation of a comparatively barren soil is also favourably contrasted with that in Decies and Kilkenny, and thus

otherwise memorable as the victim of episcopal persecution. Poer, in the struggle with Roger Outlaw, to which a reference has just been made, it seems, called his neighbour a "rhymer;" and the term—whether used as a casual expression of contempt, or applied to any real exercise of the gentle art of minstrelsy on the part of this rude aristocrat—was deemed so reproachful, that he took up arms to punish the insult it conveyed. Had the quarrel lain between these families alone, it would have soon ended; for Poer, being unequal in point of possessions, strength and resources, to his enemy, was easily driven from his estate. But by one of those strange combinations of circumstances which sometimes give the highest importance to events in themselves of but little moment, every great family in the South of Ireland took up the quarrel, and sided with one or other of the belligerents. A long and bloody civil war ensued, in which the land was laid waste in every direction, and the most furious excesses were committed by all parties. The king commanded them to desist, but his authority, never respected when their interests were concerned, was despised while their passions were excited. Fitzgerald had the Butlers and Berminghams on his side; while his old rivals, the De Burgs, took part with Le Poer. Amidst all this tumult, the native Irish arose, and availing themselves of not a few opportune moments of revenge, struck some fierce and well-directed blows upon their common enemies. Their active hostility compelled the barons to feel that they were engaged in a

accounted for:—"In Power country, they suffer no idle man, and are oppressed with them in the other." Lodge paid another compliment to the Poers, which ought not to be overlooked. "It is very remarkable, that in so long a succession, and in a country continually disturbed and torn by rebellion and civil wars, not one of this family was ever engaged in any rebellion against the crown of England, nor was there ever a forfeiture in the family during the space of 600 years that they have been planted in Ireland, They at this day enjoy the old family lands, and reside in the same place that they were originally settled in, in the county of Waterford."—*Archdale's Peerage of Ireland, by Lodge*, vol. ii. p. 307. A similar instance of peaceful occupation, uninterrupted by rebellion or forfeiture, is found in the neighbouring family of the Walls of Coolnamuck. The original deed of King John, granting the estate, is said to have never been out of the possession of the family.

work of self-extermination. Roger Outlaw had been for some time addressing himself with creditable zeal to establish peace amongst them; and as the native chieftains, having gained no advantages of a permanent character from their constant struggles, offered to submit themselves anew to the government, he ultimately succeeded in his object.

So far the administration of the prior of Kilmainham was effective and commendable. A prospect of order seemed now to open upon the country, and hopes of peace and prosperity began to spring up anew. It was at this auspicious juncture that the Irish petitioned the parliament in Dublin for a general statute, which should extend the laws of England to all Irishmen, without requiring them to purchase a special charter for the purpose in every instance. But this reasonable prayer, though moderately urged, ill accorded with the baronial system of policy; and after having been remitted to another session, was pronounced injurious to the English interest in Ireland, and ultimately rejected.

As not one but two petitions of this kind were rejected, it will be worth our while to take the facts from Leland. "An application was made," says that careful writer, "to Ufford, the chief governor, and eight thousand marks offered to the king, provided he would grant the free enjoyment of the laws of England to the whole body of the Irish inhabitants. A petition, wrung from a people tortured by the painful feelings of oppression, in itself so just and reasonable, and in its consequences so fair and promising, could not but be favourably received by a prince possessed with exalted ideas of policy and government, and, where ambition did not interfere, a friend to justice."—"But Edward was assured that an immediate compliance with his commands was not possible in the present state of things; and that the kingdom was in too great ferment and commotion. The great English settlers found it more for their interest that a free course should be left for their oppressions; that many of those whose lands they coveted should be considered as aliens; that they should be furnished for their petty wars by arbitrary exactions; and in their rapines and

massacres be freed from the terrors of a rigidly impartial tribunal."—About fifty years after, the natives, "addressing themselves once more to the throne of England, petitioned that all those odious distinctions, which had so long deluged the land with blood, should at last be abolished, and that the Irish inhabitants should be admitted to the state and privileges of English subjects." The petition being remitted to the chief governor, Darcy, was by him referred to the Irish parliament, and, as usual, defeated."*

Thus driven from the pale of the constitution, and repeatedly informed with deliberate rigour that their fate was sealed beyond the relief of justice and all hope of grace, the Irish rushed impetuously to arms, and conspired to make their vengeance commensurate with their despair. The chief under whom they now ranged themselves was Murrogh O'Brien—a general well versed in the furious wars of that period, having gained the kingdom of Thomond by the murder of Donogh, son of the victorious Turloch, whose exploits against the earl of Clare have been already commemorated. Under this fit leader the irritated Irish began a series of attacks, the progress of which was frightfully marked by massacre and desolation. Marching upon the town of Tipperary, they reduced it to ashes; then routed the Butlers and their followers at Mullingar; and at Balbriggan slew Bermingham, earl of Louth, 8 knights and 200 men-at-arms, on the field of battle.

One anecdote will suffice to give an appropriate idea of the remorseless character of this campaign. A body of English settlers flying before the destroyers, took refuge in a church. Finding the sacred edifice no protection, they offered to surrender upon one condition—the simple one of having the life of their priest, who was with them, spared. But even that

* The hardship did not end here. The English, after refusing to incorporate with the Irish as fellow subjects, took pains to compel them to remain rebels or slaves. "By an act of the Irish parliament, in the eleventh year of Henry IV., it was ordained that no Irish enemy should be permitted to depart from the realm."

was refused—the clergy had never sided with or supported the people against the English; the English, moreover, had been the first to violate the sanctity of the church; and they now experienced a terrible proof of the spirit in which such examples were to be followed. At the very altar did this infuriated band slay the priest, and trample the sacraments under foot, after which they massacred the whole party, and left the church a ruin.

The English garrison at Wexford, and the Butlers along the line of their territories, were able to hold the Irish at bay, when the lord deputy appealed for support to Maurice Fitzthomas Fitzgerald, who had lain unassailed and unmoved within his strong possessions in the South. The terms demanded by Fitzgerald as the conditions of his adherence to the crown, proved the extent of his power and the value of his aid. He obtained the title of Earl of Desmond, and a patent for consolidating his territories into a county palatine. As the produce of the Irish revenue was unequal to the cost of the war, and no dependence was to be placed upon the promises of money made to him by the government to defray the charges of his troops, he revived the old Irish custom called Bonaght, which, under the odious name of Coigne and livery, exacted free quarters for his followers wherever he marched—or, as the old writers forcibly express it, took horse meat, man's meat, and money from the king's subjects without any satisfaction. Upon these terms the defeat of the Nolans, Macmurroghs and Dempsies—troublesome septs, at that period in a state of insurrection—was not a matter of great difficulty to the thousand trained men whom he led into the field.

The bold Fitzgerald now approached the summit of the wild ambition which had been for years the aim of his indomitable family. The lawless power they had so long usurped was confirmed, legitimized, and enlarged; the state, privileges, and authority of independent petty sovereigns were conferred upon them in form; they were allowed to govern as they pleased a principality within a sovereignty—and the

anomalous tyranny developed, with a fatal promptitude and crude abundance, every possible evil by which a people can be wronged and a country ruined.

This state of things should be fully understood. "Those absolute palatines," says Sir John Davies, "made barons and knights, exercised high justice in all points within their territories, erected courts for criminal and civil causes; made their own judges, seneschals, sheriffs, coroners, and escheators; so that the king's writs did not run into those counties, which took up more than two parts of the English colonies—but only in the church lands lying within the same, which were called 'the crosse,' wherein the king made sheriffs."

"Coine and livery," Baron Finglas, author of the "Breviate of Ireland," tells us, "would destroy Hell if used there—never since then did the Geraldines or Butlers obey the king's laws in Ireland, but continually allied themselves with Irishmen, whereby all the land is now of Irish rule, except the little English pale within the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Uriel (Louth), which pass not thirty or forty miles in compass. For the lack of punishment by the ministration of justice, the great lords of Munster, by their extortions and other abuses, have expelled all the English freeholders and inhabitants out of Munster, so that in fifty years past was none there obedient to the king's laws, except cities and walled towns, and so hath been the decay of Munster."

If we had no corresponding description of the misery entailed by this odious system upon the native Irish, we should not much err if we assumed that abuses which goaded the English so sharply, must have pressed still more severely upon them. But Sir John Davies is not less graphic in his exposure of all the mischiefs arising out of this wicked custom, the consequences of which, he shows, were grievous in the extreme. "This extortion," he says, "was originally Irish, for they used to lay *bonaght* upon their people, and never gave their soldier any other pay. But when the English had learned it, they used it with more insolency, and made it more intolerable; for

this oppression was not temporary, or limited either to place or time; but, because there was everywhere a continual war, either offensive or defensive; and every lord of a county, and every marcher, made war and peace at his pleasure; it became universal and perpetual; and was indeed the most heavy oppression that ever was used in any Christian or heathen kingdom. And therefore *Vox oppressorum*, this crying sin did draw down as great or greater plagues upon Ireland, than the oppression of the Israelites did draw upon the land of Egypt. For the plagues of Egypt, though they were grievous, were but of a short continuance; but the plagues of Ireland lasted 400 years together. This extortion of coigne and livery did produce two notorious effects. First, it made the land waste; next it made the people idle. For when the husbandman had laboured all the year, the soldier in one night did consume the fruits of all his labour. *Longiq; perit labor irritus anni.* Had he reason then to manure the land for the next year? Or rather might he not complain as the shepherd in Virgil,—

> 'Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?
> Barbarus has segetes? En quo discordia cives
> Perduxit miseros! En queis consevimus agros!'"

It is obvious, upon the face of these and many similar passages which it would be easy to cite, from writers of indisputable authority, that the English interest, being the more susceptible of injury, must have suffered most acutely. Wherever the practice was introduced, the principal settlers, after a vain effort at resistance, were driven from their lands, and returned to England. On their grounds Desmond quickly seated a mixed body of retainers, English and Irish, upon terms so beneficial to himself, that he is said to have raised his rental from 1,000 marks to £10,000 a year—an enormous sum in the 14th century.* Abusing the powers conferred upon him as earl palatine, he abolished the administration of English justice, and substituted many of the more congenial, because more

* Annals of Dr. Dudley Loftus, in Marsh's Library, quoted in Smith's "History of Cork."

arbitrary, forms of Irish law—thus establishing a barbarous system, compounded of the worst parts of one code, fenced in and supported by the perverted forms of the other.

A career like that of Desmond, gratifying as it did, in an eminent degree, the strongest passions by which human nature can be moved, and conferring power and wealth to an unbounded extent; was sure to be warmly regarded and imitated by those who were in a condition to act upon so inviting an example. His kinsman, the earl of Kildare, and the head of the Butlers, created earl of Ormonde in 1326, also threw off the restraints of dependence, and in a short time the number of palatinates amounted to no less than nine,—Desmond, Ormonde, Ulster, Meath, Kildare, Leix, Kilkenny, Wexford and Carlow,*—in all of which, separately or conjointly, a harsh and wasteful tyranny was established, hostile to public order and the royal authority, and only grateful to the despots who enjoyed it. And yet these men, so rude and violent, have found their eulogists. John Clynn, the friar, of Kilkenny, draws a favourable character in his annals of the earl of Ormonde, son of Butler, first earl of Carrick, assuring us that he was a liberal, amicable, facetious, and comely person; who dying, January 6, 1337, in the flower of his youth, was buried at Gowran. Perhaps a secret motive for this praise may be traced in the fact, that the Minorites Friary at Carrickbeg, on the banks of the Suir, in the county of Waterford, in which Clynn spent some years of his life, was founded by the earl the year before his death, and endowed with his castle and estate at the opposite side of the river.

The spirit by which these palatines were animated soon broke out into overt acts, and the government found it no longer possible to overlook the glaring fact, that the great body of the lords were in a state of revolt. There was, it must be admitted, no indisposition on the part of those who represented the king's government to repress their excesses. The lord deputies of this period were men quick in perceiving, and bold in executing rigorous measures, whenever proper means were

* It is to be observed, that of these, several had been previously erected.

available for the purpose. But they were destitute of the first and most necessary resources of an efficient government in moments of violent confusion. They had neither troops nor money. While the earl of Desmond lavished his ample income upon the indulgence of his ambition, the king's exchequer in Dublin was so reduced, that a deficiency of £2,000 a year plunged the administration into a condition of helpless distress;* and thus it was, that although the zeal and ability of successive deputies occasionally sufficed to vindicate the royal authority by detached efforts; they were wholly unequal to any long-continued or well-sustained movement for the preservation of the public peace and general order. Roger Outlaw, seeking to check the career of the palatinates, summoned Desmond and Ulster to swear fealty to the crown, and met with a peremptory refusal. He was nevertheless able to lay hold of several of the recusants, and to commit the principal to the custody of the marshal of Limerick. From this restraint Desmond found means to escape; but an officer of equal ability, and still greater determination of character—Sir Anthony Lucy—having succeeded the prior of Kilmainham; Desmond was retaken and again confined; upon which he bound himself by a solemn oath of fidelity to the king, and was set free, but did not long enjoy his liberty.

Lucy proceeded to tame the barons by energetic measures. He called a parliament to take the dangerous state of the

* Some particulars have been preserved of the charges of the Irish government, about this period, which are not uninteresting. The cost of Ireland to the English crown in the 29th Edw. III. appears to have been £2,285 beyond the revenue, which was increased the year after to £2,880. In the 50th year of the same reign, the excess of expenditure over income amounted to £1,808;—during the reign of Richard, the revenue produced never defrayed the charges upon it. Smith, in his "History of Cork," vol. ii. p. 22, quotes this information from a manuscript in Trinity College Library, Tab. 3, No. 8, p. 28. A manuscript in Lambeth Library gives the salaries of the chief officers of state at the beginning of the reign of Edw. III. as follows:—Lord Justice, John, Earl of Kildare, the first who ever received a fixed sum, £500; Lord Chancellor, £40; Justice for Pleas before the Lord Justice and Council, £40; Justice Itinerant, £40; Chief Justice of King's Bench, £40; Chief Baron of Exchequer, £10; Chancellor of Exchequer, £10; King's Serjeant, £10; Engrosser of Rolls, 5*d.* a day, while the exchequer was open; Usher, 1½*d.* a day; Chaplain of the Castle, 50*s.* a year, and 2*s.* for wax.

country into consideration; and finding his summons disregarded by the leading offenders, he seized upon their persons, and put the law in force against them. Desmond was confined in Dublin Castle, and kept there for 18 months, while a formidable body of his followers were imprisoned in Limerick. A more rigorous fate befel his ally, Sir William Bermingham, who was tried for treason, and being convicted, according to all accounts, upon clear evidence, was publicly executed in Dublin. Meantime a party of Desmond's followers sought to make an impression upon the government by attacking the castle of Nenagh. They were repulsed, and withdrew in confusion. The party in custody at Limerick rose against the constable, whom they put to death. They met with some temporary success, seized the castle, and thought to carry the city. Bamberry, the mayor, however, put himself bravely at the head of the citizens, recovered the castle, and finally stopped the insurrection by a total destruction of the Geraldines. As these proceedings clearly indicated the superior strength of government, the nobles interfered to procure Desmond's discharge. He was released upon heavy securities for his good behaviour, and ordered by the parliament* to justify his conduct before the king in person. A fall from his horse, however, by which his leg was broken, delayed his journey. Upon his recovery he went to court, and, strange to say, is described in all accounts as having met with a gracious reception. We next find this extraordinary man fighting on behalf of the government against his neighbour Fitzmaurice, the fourth lord of Kerry. Whether this service originated in a feeling of gratitude for the indulgence shown him by his sovereign; or sprang from that insatiable passion for war which gives his career all the changing characteristics of a military panorama, it would now be hard to determine. Certain it is, however, that he performed on the occasion an act very acceptable to the king's government, and in the end not a little advantageous to himself.

The Fitzmaurices, barons and earls of Kerry, were lineal descendants of the celebrated Raymond le Gros Fitzgerald, who married Strongbow's sister Basilia. Raymond left two

* Marlborough's Chronicle, A.D. 1333.

sons, but whether by Basilia or not, is a disputed point.* The eldest settled in Kerry upon the large tract of land given by Dermod Macarty as the reward of the expedition by which his kingdom was recovered from his rebellious son. On this property Maurice Fitz Raymond Fitzgerald became so powerful, that his name was associated by way of distinction both with the district in which he lived and his own branch of the family—this being called Fitzmaurice, and that Clan Maurice. Three and twenty peers in succession prolonged this noble race until the year 1818, when the direct line became extinct in the person of Francis Thomas Fitzmaurice, who married the divorced wife of Peter Daly of Quansbury, in the county of Galway, and died without issue. A large and inelegant monument in Westminster Abbey commemorates the last of this long line. His estates passed to the more modern family of Petty, marquis of Lansdowne, who has taken the name of Fitzmaurice, and obtained the title of earl of Kerry.

Upon the lands given by Strongbow as his sister's marriage portion, of which Idrone, Fothard, and others in Leinster were principal portions, Raymond Le Gros settled a second son, by name Raymond, from whom sprung a numerous family of considerable repute—the Graces of the county of Kilkenny—whose possessions were at one period so extensive, as to pass by the name of Grace's Country.

Maurice the son, and Thomas the grandson, of Raymond le Gros, were fortunate enough to augment the tract given by Macarty—the former by a grant from Richard I. of five knights' fees in Cosmange and Molahiffe in Desmond, and the latter by a grant from King John of ten knights' fees in Iveforna and Ivefarba in Kerry. This Thomas married Granny Kavenagh, grand-daughter of Dermod Macmurrogh; and is to be particularly commemorated as the founder, in 1253, of the abbey of Ardfert, one of the noblest structures of the kind ever raised and endowed in Ireland, and famous above all others for its miracles.

Maurice Fitznicholas Fitzmaurice, great-grandson of

* Lodge, Giraldus Cambrensis, Archdale, &c.

Thomas, the founder of Ardfert, and Granny Kavenagh, was the individual against whom Desmond took up arms upon his return from England. There is nothing in the account preserved of the fourth Lord Kerry to raise any strong sympathy for the severe fate to which he was doomed. His mother was an O'Brien, and he rushed into blood with the characteristic impetuosity of that rash and implacable family. He had a quarrel with Dermod, son and heir of Macarty More; and meeting him upon the bench with the going judge of assize, in 1325, he slew him in full court. For this outrageous murder he was tried and attainted by a parliament in Dublin, but not consigned to the executioner. His lands in Desmond and Molahiffe, however, being seized, he became a formidable malcontent—married Honora O'Connor, and was a noted "associate of the Irish and disturber of the peace." It was in 1339 that he led the great revolt which Desmond counteracted. The use made of this victory was barbarously severe. After 1400 of his men had been slain by the Geraldines, Kerry was taken prisoner and placed in close confinement. Desmond, whose first wife, the daughter of the Red Earl of Ulster, was dead, now proposed to marry his prisoner's daughter, and obtained with her hand the lands of Rathivoe, Killury, Ballyheige, and others as dower. When this forced match was celebrated, Kerry's diet was reduced to so spare an allowance, that he died within the year!

Subsequent events were destined to exhibit Desmond's unbounded arrogance and vast resources in a still more striking point of view. Edward III., who occasionally turned his attention to the state of Ireland, and seldom without some expressive demonstration of the vigour and determination of his character, issued an ordinance in 1341. This was meant to give a fatal blow to the undue power of the military barons—men properly regarded as the main causes of the alarming evils by which the country was convulsed. By this document any past remissions of debts to the crown were declared null and void; and all monies due were ordered to be levied forthwith. The privileges and grants of land made by the king and his father were revoked; and every person holding office in Ireland, who

had not an estate in England, was recalled. The Anglo-Irish married and settled upon their estates in Ireland, were pronounced unfit to conduct the public business of that country. Englishmen, therefore, having possessions and revenues in England only, were, for the future, exclusively to form the class of persons by whom offices were to be held in Ireland. So arbitrary a disqualification naturally excited a violent ferment; and as if there had not already been conflicting interests enough to distract the country, a new division of parties was now formed to contend together—the English by birth, and the English by blood.

A formidable body soon drew together for the support of the old English interest, of which the earl of Desmond, supported by his kinsman, the earl of Kildare, and most of the resident lords, took the lead, and gave undoubted proof that they were resolved to follow no half measures in vindicating the rights and privileges they had so long enjoyed. Sir John Morris, the lord deputy, summoned a parliament in Dublin; and Desmond, not content with disobeying the writ, called a rival parliament in Kilkenny, which met and was numerously attended by lords and commons. The proceedings of this independent assembly corresponded with the occasion to which it owed its existence. They styled themselves the prelates, nobles, and commons of the land, and drew up a petition of grievances, which they forwarded to the throne—not without some contemptuous references to the lord deputy, who, being only a knight, was despised by the rude noblemen he had been vainly sent to rule. They asked how a realm of war might be governed by one both unskilful and unable in all warlike service?—how an officer under the king, who entered very poor, might in one year grow to more excessive wealth than men of great patrimony and livelihood in many years?—and pointing—most pertinently of all—to the notorious loss which Ireland entailed upon the English crown, they inquired how it chanced that, since they were all called lords of their own, the sovereign lord of them all was not a penny the richer for them?

The remonstrances of this powerful and determined body, however illegally convened, appear to have had considerable

effect. It is but natural to suppose that men of their rank and knowledge of the country found it easy to set forth abuses and prove corruption, when they began to complain against the government. These, Edward was not indisposed to redress, as the numerous patents for the appointment of new officers, and various ordinances for the improvement of the government, now issued, sufficiently indicate. But while ready to punish guilty placemen, and correct the evils which had crept into the administration of Irish affairs, Edward was not the less steady to his original purpose of reducing the extravagant power and too extensive possessions of the nobility.

With the honest view of carrying out his views of improvement in this respect, Sir Ralph Ufford, a man more than commonly vigorous in mind and conduct, was appointed chief governor in 1343. Under the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, it was hardly possible for Ufford to be otherwise than highly unpopular. With two contending parties, and both offenders also, before him, every movement towards impartial justice was sure to be regarded as an injury to one or the other. His wife, the countess of Ulster, a lady of harsh temper and covetous habits, was thought to instigate him to measures of additional rigour, and this increased the odium in which he was held by English and Irish. With Desmond, as will be readily supposed, he soon became desperately embroiled. But he was a man equal to the circumstances of the times. He summoned a parliament to assemble in Dublin, June 7, 1345; and when Desmond not only refused to attend, but, relying upon the success of his former experiment of the same kind, convened a counter meeting at Callan, in the county of Kilkenny, Ufford lost not a moment in bringing the great energies of his own character and the utmost resources of the government to bear against this arrogant disloyalty. He issued a proclamation forbidding all persons to attend the illegal convention; and hoisting the royal standard, marched directly into Desmond's territory, where he drove all before him, took Iniskisty and Castle Island, and seizing three knights, the earl's principal captains in arms, condemned them to immediate execution. Their names were Sir Eustace Poer, William Grant,

and Sir John Cotterel, and they were all hung. These measures compelled Desmond to fly. The successful governor confiscated his lands, and let them out to new owners at a fixed rent payable into the exchequer. In this extremity, 26 noblemen and knights, with the earls of Kildare and Ormonde, came forward as sureties for Desmond's appearance on a certain day. Their bail was accepted; but as he failed to render himself, the recognizances were forfeited, and of the whole number only five ultimately escaped ruin by the estreat of their estates.

Having rendered these uncommon services to his sovereign, Sir Ralph Ufford, to the great joy of his enemies, whose hatred was measured by his success, was removed from his government by death. The event was celebrated with bonfires and festivities all over the country; and affairs, under the feeble management of his successors, soon reverted to their former confusion. The council, without waiting the king's instructions, elected Sir John Fitzmorris deputy, who called a parliament, which Desmond, pleading the loss of his rank and privileges, refused to attend. Fitzmorris, unable to master the difficulties of his position, was removed; and his successor, Sir Walter Bermingham, as if to rid the Irish government of so embarrassing a question, was induced to allow Desmond a safe-conduct to plead his rights before Edward in England. There the earl once more managed his cause with a success which could hardly have been attained without some display of talent. Fortunately for him, the king was at this juncture anxious to levy troops for his wars in France—a circumstance which led him to treat Desmond with a degree of distinction corresponding with his military resources. He gave him a friendly audience, entertained him liberally, and allowed him 20*s.* a day to pay his expenses. These favours Desmond improved with such address, that in 1352 he obtained full satisfaction for Ufford's severities, and was restored to all his estates, titles and privileges. In consideration of this courtesy to his kinsman, the earl of Kildare agreed to follow the king to the French wars with a train of gallant followers, who took a distinguished part at the siege of Calais.

When the town was won, Kildare received the honour of knighthood from the king's hand, and returned home flushed with honour and success. Nor did the Geraldine tide of fortune stop here. As if to consummate the triumph of his extraordinary career, Desmond was soon after appointed lord deputy for life, and entering upon that high office, took up his residence at the castle of Dublin, from which the civil and military authorities of the kingdom had so repeatedly and so unavailingly been extended to destroy him. But he was not reserved for a long enjoyment of this unexampled fortune ;—his course was run ;—before a year elapsed, he died at the seat of government, (January 25, 1353,) and was buried in the church of the Friars Preachers, in Tralee.

From this sketch of the life of Maurice, first earl of Desmond, direct and striking proofs are to be drawn of the correctness of the view of Irish history taken in the earlier part of these outlines. It is impossible to reflect for a moment upon the exploits of this original character, without feeling that no mistake can be greater than that which supposes Ireland to have been a country ruled, at this period, by the government of the king of England—that a faithful knowledge of the progress of Irish affairs is to be gained by attempting to link a chain of national events from reign to reign, or that their movement is to be explained by a reference to the ordinary sources of public law and general authority. Nothing, on the contrary, can be more palpable than the fact, that the annals of Ireland are vexed and broken narratives of precarious struggles for barbaric sway between the heads of a few great families; who, ingrafting upon the hardened turbulence of the conquering barons from whom they sprung, the impetuous characteristics of the wild chieftains whom they displaced, formed a mixed and degenerate race, distinguished by few moral virtues and little mental refinement ; but remarkable for every excess to which the animal passions of human nature can be pushed by the gratification of irregular ambition and the license of unrestricted power. To some show of religion, more politic perhaps than sincere, they added the honours of personal bravery in an eminent

degree, and an unceremonious hospitality, which was as profligate as it was profuse, because it was, in the main, unscrupulously sustained by exaction and plunder. Beyond the few good qualities comprised in this brief enumeration, they offer no claims to our praise or gratitude,—leaving us astonished at the unexampled height to which they advanced their worldly fortunes, without the instrumentality of superior virtue, or the aid of any very extraordinary circumstances in their favour.

The career of Maurice, first earl of Desmond, exhibits a broad view of the peculiar character of the body of men amongst whom he stood supreme. In his case, the history of Ireland, and the defects of its government for a series of years, are literally expressed in the life of an individual. In him, more conspicuously than in any other, we behold the invasion successful. He embodied its bold spirit in his own person, and elaborated energetically from it all the enjoyment, dominion, and distinction it was capable of attaining. Not an armour-bound knight or baron crossed the Irish Sea during the reign of Henry II., who did not paint to his imagination the bright perspective of a triumphant future, such as the first Desmond came to bask in—who did not hope to grasp a principality over which he and his descendants should reign paramount for ages —who did not expect to live to become the dictator of his own laws to his own retainers, rendering incidentally an ill-defined homage to a distant sovereign, and exacting from all around unlimited obedience to his greatness and pleasure. It was on these terms that the feudal principle had spread over Europe, and impressed its rigid forms on the soil of France, Germany and England. It was thus that dukes, marquises, and counts, under the nominal restraint of vassalage, had broken up large empires into separate territories, which they frequently governed with an authority more substantial, in many of its effects, than was enjoyed by the monarch under whom it was held.

It was for this dazzling prize, won by his forefathers on the Continent and in England, that troops of brave captains staked their lives in Ireland; but, of all who challenged it, the Fitz-

geralds alone seem to have carried it off, and to have appropriated it to themselves, in the full sense and undiminished lustre of its greatness. They gained a power only less than royal, and transmitted it from heir to heir for generations: they fought for a century before they were able to establish it; and several centuries passed before their rivals and the crown could wrest it back and beat them down. There were others, no doubt, amongst the descendants of the first invaders, who seized very large possessions, and usurped the same license; but their possessions were never extended and consolidated, nor was their license preserved with the same effect or for an equal period. The prosperity and duration of other houses appear moderate and ephemeral, when compared with those of the Geraldines—the only men in Ireland who fully realised the feudal system. While their compeers drew together and fenced themselves from danger within the narrow limits of the English pale, they pushed their independent territory over the South-west of Ireland, relied upon themselves for its defence, and maintained the supremacy they had thus acquired absolute and complete for ages.

It would be difficult to quote, from any history, the instance of a second family, bounding with the same athletic vigour into the highest seat of power, and there maintaining themselves for a length of time by the exercise of no other force than that which sufficed to place them in it. In this, more than in any other respect, the character of the Geraldines seems original. A race so true to itself—so identical for successive years, in habits, disposition, and practices—so slightly modified by time or circumstances—it would perhaps be impossible to find elsewhere. Their course and bearing were always the same—wayward, unrefined, overbearing, insolent and irresistible; and when at last that course was run, they fell—broken, but unchanged,—exhibiting, in extreme adversity, the spirit and feelings unaltered, which they displayed at the first blush and dawning of their career.

In another point of view this family attracts particular notice. Not only were the Desmonds always the same men

—identical in character and career for centuries,—but their dynasty, long as it endured, cannot be said to have effected any good, however partial, or mitigated any evil, however excessive. It seems to have been a distinctive quality of that ascendancy, as well as a substantive result of the violence upon which it was founded, that, far from being the means of improving the country, or benefiting the condition of any portion of the people, it dried up all the softening influences of civilization, and turned the most fruitful resources into a barren waste.

Another remark here suggests itself. The Irish barons, in their insubordination and licentiousness, imitated, and followed up the equally turbulent ambition of their Norman compeers in England; but there were different circumstances in the two countries, which prevented this similar conduct from producing the same results in both. In England as in Ireland the nobility were in the constant habit of setting the crown at defiance, whenever they could discern a way to indulge their interest or their passions with impunity. In England, however, the monarchy having been raised on a strong foundation, the monarch was generally able to sustain his prerogatives with a strength which, if not always adequate to the occasion, was continuously exerted. The crown and the aristocracy were thus directly opposed; and the scale, however at times violently agitated and displaced from its equilibrium, was often fairly balanced between their contending pretensions. But this never occurred in Ireland: the royal authority in that country appears to have been set up only as a form, and never used but as a veil or apology for abuses which otherwise could not have been so conveniently committed. In England, moreover, from the earliest times, the principles of the constitution, though not always reduced to exact practice, were acknowledged on all hands; its forms, too, were more or less faithfully observed under almost every change of circumstance; its machinery, except at intervals, was kept in action, and a spirit nourished and encouraged, which, though not always strong and agile enough to resist

the tyranny of the sovereign, was yet in its nature sufficiently hale and vivid to outlive the occasional outrages offered to it, and ultimately to secure the liberties of the commonalty, and the prosperity of the country.

In Ireland, such a thing as the cause of the country or the community, distinct from and superior to every other, was neither known nor felt for many centuries. The life of the first Desmond exhibits the truth of this observation plainly, and shows the origin and progress of other anomalies too numerous to specify, and too gross to describe. In him, the steady valour of the Norman baron ran wild, and threw off in a rapid series of movements all its original characteristics, until, at last, no relic of a great virtue was left behind. The constant cautious, strong adventurer completely changed his nature;—his constancy turned to rashness—his caution to self-confidence—his strength to bravado. Having carried his first project, and been successful at the main points—having made himself completely master of his own fortune, by a series of daring achievements,—he soon began to fancy himself without a superior, and indulged in a dangerous imitation of royal power. But his triumph, great as it was, had heavy drawbacks. The native enemy, though defeated, were not subdued: they rose at every opportunity, and vexed his dominion with ceaseless attacks. Thus irritated, he became desperate, and plunged into enormities disgraceful to humanity. The many contests, so fraught with danger and reward, in which he was involved with the bold and hearty chieftains of the land, incited them never to let him rest, and taught him the subtle practices of dissimulation and intrigue. The bad qualities thus acquired he played off with no mean skill against his own sovereign. Whenever he felt himself too weak to demonstrate his purpose overtly, he prepared a way by temporizing and making fair professions, to fling off the irksome pressure of authority at the first favourable opportunity; and when completely discomfited and overthrown, he never hesitated to tender an unconditional but insincere submission, to save the rem-

nants of the scattered force on which he relied as the means of rising again, and ascending to his old pre-eminence.

To such a man everything was welcome that extended his resources, or added to his power. The license of the Irish chieftain and the franchises of the Norman baron were his by grant and acquisition, and he adopted and blended together, without any scruple or regard to consistency, so much of each as seemed either to suit his policy, or gratify his humour. A crude and ill-digested system was thus unskilfully fashioned, in which incongruous principles and conflicting usages found awkward places, but which, administered as they were by a headstrong will and iron hands, a spirit that never quailed and a pride that never bowed to a superior, must necessarily have been indomitable. When we review these details, we cease to wonder that the haughty head of such a body—the individual forcibly described by Sir John Davies as "the only author and first actor of the mischiefs which gave the greatest impediment to the full conquest of Ireland,"—should think little of bearding the king's deputy in his palace, of fighting him in the field, or flinging him into a prison when defeated. We are less surprised to find him counteracting the king's parliament by a parliament of his own; and we own, with a regret not unmixed with interest, though free from admiration, that he whom no prison could detain, no sureties bind, and no governor govern, accomplished a consistent consummation when he secured to himself, for life, the chief command of a country in which he had so hardily made himself supreme.

CHAPTER VI.

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF THE CONNECTION WITH ENGLAND—*continued.*

FEUDS OF THE ENGLISH BY BLOOD AND ENGLISH BY BIRTH.—THE ORMONDES TAKE THE LEAD IN OFFICE.—CONCURRENT HISTORY OF THE DESMONDS.—DUKE OF CLARENCE LORD LIEUTENANT.—STATUTES OF KILKENNY.—ANATHEMAS OF THE CLERGY.—RICHARD II. AT THE HEAD OF A NUMEROUS FORCE.—CONFERS KNIGHTHOOD ON MACMURROGH AND OTHERS.—FRESH INSURRECTION.—EARL MARCH SLAIN.—RICHARD, BAFFLED BY MACMURROGH, IS SUCCEEDED BY HENRY IV.—CONTEST OF TALBOT, EARL OF SHREWSBURY, AIDED BY HIS BROTHER, THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, WITH THE FOURTH ORMONDE.—THE LOVE-MATCH OF THE SIXTH DESMOND.—ACCUSATION, ACQUITTAL, CHARACTER, AND RETIREMENT OF THE FOURTH ORMONDE.—SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF TALBOT, EARL OF SHREWSBURY, NOW CREATED EARL OF WATERFORD, AND REWARDED WITH EXTRAORDINARY GRANTS AND PRIVILEGES.

Ireland seems to have been destined from a remote period to violent experiments in government. These, moreover, if not always unjust in principle, have commonly been either so imprudently or so unskilfully applied, as to have proved tantamount to injustice in the effects they produced. Amongst the more frequent causes of discontent and insurrection, was the attempt to compensate for long intervals of neglect, by sudden fits of sharp efficiency. A principal grievance of this latter kind is observable in the ordinance which gave rise to the feud between the English by blood and the English by birth, referred to in the last chapter. That feud had been no sooner provoked, than the pressure of its impolitic results led to a gradual relaxation of its severity to all but the unchartered Irish. The injury was thus left to lie most heavily upon those who had the strongest claims to exemption from

such an enactment, while the great and powerful were afforded an additional proof of the advantages to be gained by a forcible resistance to the mandates of the government in England, whenever they happened to be distasteful to their prejudices, or obnoxious to their interests.

Amongst the men who had acquired a temporary popularity in the midst of the confusion evolved by these alternate restraints and concessions was Sir Thomas Rokeby, who filled the office of lord justice in 1349, and distinguished himself by a temperate virtue, a simplicity of character without any infirmity of conduct, and such perfect purity in the discharge of his various duties, as to be deservedly esteemed the mirror of good governors—"a man of sincere and upright conscience," says Campion, "who would have been deemed a precise fop in our days." His style of living was frugal, and so little costly or ostentatious, as to challenge observation; upon which he declared "that his homely cups and dishes paid truly for what they contained; and that he preferred drinking out of wooden vessels and paying gold and silver for his liquor, than drinking out of gold and making wooden payment."

The death of Maurice, the great earl of Desmond, and the connection formed by James, the first earl of Ormonde, with the royal family of England, through his marriage with Elenor, second daughter of Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, by Elizabeth, seventh daughter of Edward I., facilitated the introduction of the Butlers to the highest offices for a series of years, during which only one Desmond appears to have been either lord justice or lord deputy, namely, Gerald, third son of the first earl, who was lord deputy in 1367, and two years afterwards succeeded to the family title and estates after the deaths of two elder brothers. Gerald, accordingly, was fourth earl of Desmond, and claims a word of passing praise, for having earned the name of the Poet Earl—no slight distinction in an illiterate age and amongst the unstudious race to which he belonged. The general account preserved of his attainments is highly creditable. He is described not as a poet only, but also as very learned, and so good a mathema-

tician as to have been thought a magician by the common people. Few men eminent for literary acquirements have been great in war: the Poet Earl was as unfortunate in the field as many more distinguished men of letters. In the middle of 1370, the O'Briens of Thomond and the O'Connors of Connaught joined their followers together, and made a bold attack upon his estates in Limerick. The force which Gerald, with the aid of Lord Kerry and other kinsmen, brought into the field, was inferior to that of the assailants; nevertheless he ventured upon an engagement with them, but suffered a total rout, being made prisoner himself, with Lord Kerry, Lord Thomas Fitzjohn, and other persons of distinction. Some ties of friendship must now have been knit between Fitzgerald and O'Brien; for we find in 1388, that Richard II. granted the earl a license to send his son James into Thomond, to be there brought up as long as it should so please him by O'Brien, notwithstanding the statutes which forbad connection or gossipry with the Irish. His death was mysterious: in 1397 he lay encamped near Kerry Island, and strolled out alone, but was never seen afterwards. No clue to the cause of so sudden a disappearance appears to have been discovered. Strange to add, his son and successor John, the fifth earl, also met with a violent death. He was a brave soldier, had served in Scotland, and had been knighted. Returning to Ireland, he renewed the family quarrel with the Butlers, although his mother was Elenor, daughter of James, the second earl of Ormonde. Against his first cousin, the son and heir of that James, the fifth Desmond, careless of the claims of consanguinity, marched with a large force into Tipperary. The two earls—for James was now third earl of Ormonde—met near the monastery of Innislaught, where a parley ensued which led to a reconciliation, and they agreed to live in peace and amity. Desmond took his way homewards with his army, and crossing the Suir at the old pass of Ardfinnan, fell into the river and was drowned, either late in 1399, or early in 1400.

Amongst the events which now contributed to put the

Butlers at the head of affairs, was the change which had taken place in the government of Ireland in 1361—a change involving other important relations for a series of years. Edward III., after a long experience of the poor results produced even by able men, when charged with the administration of that kingdom, resolved to send over his second son, Lionel, duke of Clarence, who, by his marriage with the grand-daughter and sole heiress of the Red de Burg, earl of Ulster, had acquired the titles and principal property of that powerful nobleman. By establishing a government with the highest claims to respect, and with sufficient strength to insure obedience to its commands, Edward hoped to repress the insubordination of the natives and the arrogance of the settlers. This policy was not unsuited to the circumstances of the country, but it was over acted: the duke appeared in Ireland, surrounded with Englishmen by birth, who, knowing well that the main object of their leader was to reform the colonists, and make them obey the English law and magistrate, cared not to hide the contempt they felt for men who were obnoxious because they had degenerated. These, in their turn, concluding that the slights offered to them indicated a disposition in the new governor to enforce the spirit of his father's former proclamation against them, withdrew their support from his administration, and abandoned him unaided and unadvised to fight the Irish enemy as best he might. Lionel advanced into Thomond, where the O'Briens, retreating on purpose, led him into the more intricate recesses of the district. Ignorant of the locality, and inexperienced in the mode of warfare to which he was now exposed, the royal duke found himself inextricably involved, if not assisted by the offended lords. This was no sooner applied for than it was efficiently rendered. The barons not only freed him from his difficulties, but enabled him to gain some advantages over the Irish. Having thus experienced the superior power of the body he came to subdue, Clarence returned foiled and discontented to England, leaving the feud between the English by blood and by birth waxing stronger

and more desperate every day. Thus another effort upon the part of the crown in England to administer affairs upon an improved policy, was defeated by the Anglo-Irish barons, who afforded a fresh proof of the fixed determination they had come to, either that the doomed country should be governed according to their views and behests, or not governed at all.

After an interval of a few years, Lionel was induced to resume his office. He called together, in 1367, a parliament, to consult upon the state of the nation, which met accordingly at Kilkenny, and was more numerously attended than any other upon record. Several new provisions were brought into action, which became famous in the subsequent annals of Ireland, under the name of the Statutes of Kilkenny. Sir John Davies's account of these laws and the circumstances by which they were called for, is, that the English at that time in Ireland "were become mere Irish in their language, names, apparel, and all their manner of living; had rejected the English laws, and submitted themselves to the Irish, with whom they had many marriages and alliances, which tended to the utter ruin and destruction of the commonwealth. Therefore alliance by marriage, and nurture of infants, and gossipred with the Irish, are by this statute made high treason."

"Again, if any man of English race should use an Irish name, Irish language, or Irish apparel, or any other guise or fashion of the Irish—or if he had lands and tenements, the same should be seized till he had given security to the Chancery to conform himself in all points to the English manner of living; and if he had no lands, his body was to be taken and imprisoned till he found sureties, as aforesaid."

"Again, it was established and commanded, that the English, in all their controversies, should be ruled and governed by the common law of England; and if any did submit to the Brehon law or March law, he should be adjudged a traitor."

"Again, because the English, at that time, made war and peace with the bordering enemy at their pleasure, they were

expressly prohibited to levy war upon the Irish, without special warrant and directions from the state."

"Again, it was made penal to the English to permit the Irish to creaght, or graze upon their lands; to present them to ecclesiastical benefices; to receive them into any monasteries or religious houses; or to entertain any of their minstrels, rhymers, or news-tellers; to impose or cess any horse or foot upon the English subjects against their wills, was made felony. And because the great liberties or franchises spoken of before, were become sanctuaries for malefactors, express power was given to the king's sheriffs to enter into all franchises, and there to apprehend all felons and traitors."

"And lastly, because the great lords, when they levied forces for the public service, did lay unequal burdens upon the gentlemen and freeholders, it was ordained that four wardens of the peace in every county should set down and appoint what men, and armor, every man should bear, according to his freehold or other ability of estate."

Upon these enactments, in which some little good and much evil are prominently mixed together, it is hardly necessary to enlarge. There is no room to doubt the wisdom of the policy which sought to prevent the English baron from sinking into the unenviable state of the persecuted Irish chieftain; still less is there an apology to be offered for the iniquity of the attempt to shut the great mass of the Irish people out from the pale of law, civilization and religion. The cruelty of conquest never broached a principle more criminal, unsound, or unsuccessful. It is now easy enough to see that the proper care of the statesmen of that period ought to have been the union and improvement of both races, and that this great object was only to be accomplished by elevating the native Irish to a level with the best of the English settlers, instead of degrading them into a lower caste than was to be found within the range of European society. Unfortunately, however, for both English and Irish, no enlightened views appear to have presented themselves to the eye of the legisla-

tors of those days. It is proper to add, that a late authority, Lord Chancellor Clare, has regarded the evils of the statute of Kilkenny as so much greater than the good, that he pronounced it in the parliament of his country, "a declaration of perpetual war, not only against the native Irish, but against every person of English blood who had settled beyond the limits of the Pale, and from motives of personal interest or convenience had formed connections with the natives, or adopted their laws or customs: and it had the full effect that might have been expected; it drew closer the confederacy it was meant to dissolve, and implicated the colony of the Pale in ceaseless warfare and contention with each other, and the inhabitants of the adjacent districts."

One bold feature in this transaction is painfully remarkable. The eager spirit in which the clergy supported the English party, and directed the hottest censures and most formidable punishments of the church against the opposing Irish, has more than once been adverted to. Upon the present occasion they came forward with unabated vehemence; and not content with contributing their united influence to carry the statute of Kilkenny through parliament, they promulgated, as soon as it became law, the extreme sentence of excommunication against all who violated its directions: they even had the intemperance to proclaim everything Irish abhorrent to God and man. The motives by which the clergy were actuated in these unchristian proceedings and opinions, were as censurable as the excesses themselves:—The Irish, though zealous Catholics, had always been opposed to tithes and ecclesiastical taxes, which were never recovered in the districts ruled by the native chieftains under the Brehon law. It was for this steady resistance to clerical exactions, in the tenderest and most highly prized elements of its greatness—the emoluments of office, the sources and supplies of pomp and luxury,—that the Irish were visited with the indignant anger of men whose principal care and study appear to have been the gratification and extension of their own privileges and powers.

These are the startling passages in Irish history which

move the heart most powerfully, and impel us at once to extenuate and forgive the failings and enormities with which the natives have been so unsparingly charged. Be their faults and offences what they may, a people more scandalously abused, or more cruelly sacrificed, has never existed. We here behold them despoiled and trodden to the earth, years after the English invasion, with no claim to property and no security for life;—the very altar, to which a Christian would fly for refuge, in the midst of the despair inspired by this most comprehensive and penetrating persecution, declared a spot to which it was felony to resort; the pastors of their faith—the men of all others whose solemn duty it was to succour them, who had bound themselves by vows registered in heaven to live for them and comfort them—not only abandoning them in their extremity, but zealously co-operating with their oppressors to add the keenest torture of the mind to acute bodily wretchedness, and render that death, to which their destitution precipitated them, doubly frightful, by the absence of religious consolation. Contemplating a whole nation thus injured, outraged, and anathematized, pity, abhorrence, and indignation arise successively in the bosom; but subside and yield to an astonishment, not unmixed with pleasure, when we reflect, that, after all, these native Irish were not wholly overcome,—that they withstood and outlived the terrible inflictions of Church and State,—and that, though still claiming justice, they are growing in numbers, in freedom, in power and in prosperity.

Sir John Davies and some others are, or affect to be, of opinion, that the statute of Kilkenny worked essential improvements: if that was the case, the benefits produced by it must have been of slow growth, and not of a very prominent description. Ten years after it had become law, the Irish parliament, when called upon to vote a subsidy, declared that they were too poor, and negatived the motion. For a series of years, the expenses of the government still exceeded the revenue. The truth is, that Sir John could see clearly enough the faults of preceding governments, and remain at the same time

blind to the errors of the government he served. The prostration of the influence of the crown, and the ascendancy of a rampant oligarchy, was, down to the reign of Elizabeth, a prominent cause of the failure of the invasion. A greater evil, and one of much longer continuance, was the total neglect of the people, who constitute the foundation and mainspring of all national power.

At the present moment the urgency of the case suggested an extraordinary expedient—no less than a sort of Irish parliament in England. Writs issued to the barons, clergy, the counties, cities and boroughs, calling upon the bishops to return two of the clergy from each diocese, the counties two persons from each, and the cities and boroughs also two each —to meet at Westminster, as informers or commissioners, to treat with the king on the affairs of Ireland. Thither, accordingly, they repaired, but not to answer the main object for which they had been summoned. The king was known to stand in need of money, and his prelates and people of Ireland, in sending him advisers of their condition, and representatives of their opinions, specially instructed them to vote no money. There were a few exceptions, in the trading towns, such as Cork, Youghal, and New Ross, which gave their deputies unrestricted powers; but this proved an unavailing liberality when set against the opposing voices of the majority.

During this period, the Butlers, as well by the force of their own abilities and resources, as by their opportune relationship with their sovereigns, appear more frequently in the enjoyment of official power than any other family. Edward III. particularly, towards the close of his reign, and the unfortunate Richard II. bestowed many lands and honours upon James, the second earl, a man who by various qualities acquired a high reputation. He is often called the Noble Earl, says Lodge, on account of his descent from the royal family; and by the Irish, James the Chaste, on account of his modesty and virtue. He was repeatedly nominated lord deputy and lord justice—offices in which his services have been particularly commemorated, not only for exploits against the native Irish—

the vulgar merit of several ages,—but for many regulations devised and circulated in his proclamations and ordinances, for the sustenance and advancement of the English interests. When Lionel, duke of Clarence, came over as lord lieutenant, James the Chaste was one of the great men who formed his escort. The style in which he travelled on the occasion is indicated by the account of the sums allowed for the payment of his retinue, which has been preserved, and was 4*s.* a day for himself, 2*s.* each for 2 knights, 1*s.* each for 27 knights, 6*d.* each for 20 armed, and 4*d.* each for 20 unarmed hobellers.

When the duke of Clarence returned to England, he left his authority in the hands of the chaste earl, as lord deputy. The latter was vigorous in the administration of his office, successful against the insurgent Irish—amongst whom the followers of Mac Murrogh, at Feigstaffen, principally suffered from his arms—and sedulous to improve the administration of affairs. But the radical evils of an imperfect scheme of government had penetrated too deeply, and spread too widely, to prevent the expenses they occasioned, and the troubles they excited, from being frequent matters of sore complaint in England. It was under these arduous and unpromising circumstances that Richard II. undertook to pacify the country in person. It is curious to observe, that the weakest English monarchs have been those who imagined themselves equal to the labour of composing the agitated affairs of Ireland. Richard II., like John, came to Ireland with an imposing force, and all the apparent means to insure success. Some accounts, probably exaggerated, assign him an army of 4,000 men at arms, and 30,000 archers. With all this force, however, he effected nothing—he landed at Waterford in October, 1391; marched through the country with great military pomp; and received the homage of English barons and Irish chieftains, who rushed with promiscuous eagerness to throw themselves at his feet. The Irish who did homage before him were 75—a large number—offering the strongest possible proof of the complete failure of the policy adopted to subdue them. To their professions on this occasion, no weight ought to have been at-

tached; they were—as the events soon proved—too politic not to assume an air of respect and loyalty, when a different bearing would have insured their destruction. Flattered by these appearances of devotion and easy triumph, Richard arrived in Dublin with a train, such perhaps as had never before gathered round the person of a monarch in Ireland, and held a festival of extraordinary magnificence. O'Neil, O'Brien, O'Connor and Mac Murrogh, as the heads of the Irish chiefs, having been prevailed upon to accept knighthood, were installed in the cathedral of Christ's Church, and then entertained at his own table. The Irishmen appeared decked in robes of scarlet, provided for the ceremony by Richard; but they submitted reluctantly to the honour imposed on them, and expressed their contempt of it when conferred. Knighthood, they said, was no novelty or particular distinction to them: on the contrary, it was usually conferred upon the son of every Irish king upon attaining his seventh year. They talked, accordingly, of refusing the offer, and were only induced to yield a sullen assent to it by the entreaties of the earl of Ormonde, who spoke their language, and took pains to show them that it was proper to gratify the king. The truth was, that the Irish had no chivalry;—they had borrowed the form of knighthood from the English, and wore armour after their fashion; but the spirit of romantic enterprise, the soul and life-blood of the order, were never strong, and hardly felt or understood amongst a set of undisciplined military men, whose exploits bore a close resemblance to the uncertain outbreaks of the Spanish guerilla of modern times—and whose greatest expeditions were plundering forays of cattle and goods, the conflagration of a castle, or a combat of revenge. Such men would look for some more substantial favour from the English sovereign than the vain ceremony which lasted for an hour, and was forgotten the next day. They had long-standing wrongs crying for redress, disputed rights demanding adjustment, and fierce passions to quell. Knighthood from a king's hand, and a dinner at his table, were poor substitutes and paltry diversions to

satisfy men so critically circumstanced. Accordingly, when they left the royal board and presence, they carried back to the wild homes his government had driven far into the mountain and morass, no more attachment to his person, or duty to his deputy, than they had brought with them. Convincing proofs of this were soon afforded.

Richard, according to an anecdote of the period, was instigated to undertake the Irish expedition, in order to give a practical refutation to some foreign taunt that he was no warrior. And a warrior he certainly was not, however anxious he may have been to appear one. Some pains seem to have been taken to gain him the credit of a triumph by securing the submission of the Irish, amongst whom the most powerful chief, or monarch, as he was styled by his followers, was Arth. Mac Murrogh, of the family of Kavenagh, to which Dermod Mac Murrogh had belonged. From his portrait, given by Strutt, we are enabled to judge of the style and appearance of the royal Irish of that period. He surrendered his sovereignty formally by deed, and received in return a pension of 80 marks per annum, which appears to have been paid down to the reign of Henry VIII. Amongst other memorials of the local power and extent of the possessions of the family of Mac Murrogh, are the ruins of Clonmines Abbey, agreeably situated on the banks of the Bannow, in the county of Wexford, which was founded in 1385, ten years before the surrender of the sovereignty. A castle adjoined, the remains of which indicate a similar age, and suggest a belief that this must have been a principal seat of Mac Murrogh's greatness. There is an engraving of it in Grose's "Antiquities."

Deeming this vain progress a sufficient demonstration of his military character and resources, Richard returned to England, making his cousin, the earl of March, lord deputy. The new governor naturally looked to the Irish for a fulfilment of the conditions of the late treaty, the principal of which was that they should withdraw themselves altogether from Leinster. But a bare hint to that effect was enough to rouse them to arms, and place the pensioner Mac Murrogh at their head.

In one of the fights that ensued, the earl of March was slain, and Richard, incensed at so quick a proof of the emptiness of his triumph, hurried back to Ireland, resolved upon extreme revenge. His second expedition, though somewhat more warlike, was in no respect more successful than the first. He took the field against Mac Murrogh and the Irish, who, spreading their wild forces in great numbers amidst congenial and familiar haunts, the mountain recesses of Wicklow and Wexford, appeared and disappeared at will; and left their followers, the fatigued and famished English, to contend against the insuperable difficulties opposed by an inaccessible and unprovisioned country. Vexed and worn out by this unequal contest, Richard, as impetuous as he was weak, vowed not to leave the country unsatisfied—retreated—negotiated—found his terms rejected—and made hot and indignant preparations for a new campaign. But a more formidable enemy was on foot; his throne was already undermined; and having experienced disgrace and defeat in Ireland, the hapless king set sail to encounter the greater losses of his crown and life in England; having first, however, afforded another instance of impotent sovereignty, by ordering the sons of Lancaster and Gloucester, who were with him, to be closely imprisoned in the castle of Trim.

The advancement of the Butlers during the course of these events had been steady, and so great as to raise them high above the Desmonds in power, and enable them to act the part of patron to some leading members of that family. James, the third earl of Ormonde, was a man of a large frame of body, and of considerable personal strength and skill in arms. He deserves especial notice as one who cultivated those peaceful and constitutional modes of improving his estate, by which his family had been honourably distinguished at an earlier age. He served under the earl of March in the Leinster expedition, which cost that young nobleman his life, and took Teigue O'Carrol, dynast of Ely, prisoner. His principal residence was the castle of Gowran, long the chief seat of his family, the buildings and fortifications of which he completed. Having thus effected for one residence all it seemed capable of

receiving, he addressed himself to the establishment of another, destined in after years to eclipse the former in strength, durability, and distinction. This was the celebrated castle of Kilkenny, originally built by William, earl marshal, founder of the Black Abbey in that city, who came to Ireland as heir of Strongbow, in 1207. From his heir again, Sir William le de Spencer, earl of Gloucester, James, third duke of Ormonde, purchased the castle of Kilkenny, with divers adjoining manors and lordships in 1391.* A bastion supposed to be part of the original fortification is given in Grose's "Antiquities."

The third Ormonde was deeply imbued with the spirit of politic ambition so characteristic of his race: nor was he without skill in the arts best fitted to make it prosper. Although distinguished by the unfortunate Richard II., who stood godfather to his second son, and twice nominated to the chief government during his reign—namely, as lord deputy in 1384, and lord justice in 1392—he espoused the pretensions of Henry IV., and in return was specially favoured by that usurper. Both kings conferred extraordinary powers upon him: Richard declared him by special commission keeper of the peace in Tipperary and Kilkenny, and Henry by a subsequent writ enlarged the bounds of his authority by adding Wexford, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick to the former counties. He held a parliament in Dublin, which confirmed the statutes of Dublin and Kilkenny, and the charter of Ireland; and died, after making an attack upon O'Connor's County, September 7, 1405, at his castle of Gowran. He was buried amongst his ancestors in the abbey there, of which some traces are preserved in Grose—and has

* Ledwich, in Grose, specifies the honours and dependencies of the castle of Kilkenny conveyed by this extensive purchase. "The castle itself and mills; the borough of Rosbercon and mills; the manors of Dewfert and Kildermos; the sergeancy of Iverk; all his tenements of Callan le Hill; 33*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* in Callan, and the advowson of the church; with all the lands, tenements, advowsons, and knights' fees in Iverk, Rosbercon, Logheran, Killaghy, Rossana, Knocktopher, the new town of Jerpoint, Killamery, Ardreston, Lysdoufry, Kilfeacamaduff, and Thollenabrogue."—*Grose's Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 38.

been styled in the Annals, the "Chivalry of Ireland,"—which kingdom he governed to the content of the king and the good of his subjects.

His eldest son and heir, James, the fourth Ormonde, closely resembled him in character, and rose to even higher consequence. He served early in life against his countrymen, and also in the French wars. During the latter he received the honour of knighthood in company with Henry VI., then a youth, from the hands of John, duke of Bedford and regent of France, —the last of the heroic race belonging to the blood royal of England, who sustained the military glory of their native land upon the continent of Europe. This Ormonde seems to have been not indisposed to encourage the spirit and feats of knighthood in Ireland. He patronized the senseless practice which the force of chivalry had partially engrafted upon the common law of England, of settling private disputes by single combat. Landing from England at Waterford in 1420, he found two of his cousins—no uncommon thing with the junior members of noble families in former days—contending for rank and property; and ordered them to decide their differences by an appeal to arms, which was maintained with so much valour and obstinacy, that one of the combatants fell dead upon the field, and the other was carried away sore wounded to Kilkenny.*

The life of the fourth Ormonde was a series of official employments, civil and military, and all of an eminent character. He is commemorated for repeated engagements with Macmurrogh and the O'Nolans; with the Burks and O'Carrols; with O'Reilly and Macmahon; with O'Cavenagh and O'Neil —against whom he was generally successful, though at times his forces suffered a surprise and were severely punished, as in 1421, near the castle and monastery of Leix. The expenses of these expeditions were met by votes of money from the Irish parliament, which were in all probability obtained without much difficulty, as he generally presided over their

* Marlborough's Chronicle.

sittings—having, either as lord justice to the lord deputy for the time being, or as lord deputy in person, held the government of Ireland in his own hands oftener than any other person during the reigns of Henry V. and VI. For these high purposes he appears to have received no less than six distinct commissions. A man so eminently successful and highly honoured, naturally provoked rivals of no mean power or abilities, in an age of fierce passions and in the favourite land of encroachment and dissension. These, as Ormonde advanced in years, pressed their opposition so closely and vigorously, as to require him to make extraordinary efforts to preserve his influence with the king, and retain his accustomed sway in the government. His chief competitor for power was a man of the highest merit and reputation, whose exploits abroad were of the noblest character, and whose services in Ireland—a less glorious theatre—were not inferior to any achieved by his cotemporaries.

Amongst the soldiers who acquired fame by the skill and gallantry with which they devoted themselves to sustain the declining empire of England in France, during the reign of the imbecile Henry VI., he who ranked next to the regent, Bedford, was Sir John Talbot, created earl of Shrewsbury. His family had long held extensive possessions in Ireland, though they do not appear to have taken an active part in the affairs of that country before the period now under notice. To Sir John Talbot belongs the rare merit of having preserved the possessions of the English crown in France, during a term of four and twenty years, by a succession of the most renowned exploits—possessions retained while he lived, but lost when at last he was killed in their defence at the battle of Chatillon. It was in Ireland he "fleshed his maiden sword in victory:" constituted lord lieutenant in 1413, by Henry V., he overran the insurgent districts in a rapid series of successful movements. Having reduced to the king's peace, in a few years, the Byrnes, O'Tooles, and Cavenaghs in one direction — the O'Mores, O'Farrels, and O'Connors in another—and the Macmahons, O'Reillys, and

O'Neils in a third—he completed his services by the capture of Donald Macmurrogh, whom he carried off prisoner to London, and delivered to the king. The lords of the Pale forwarded a written statement upon this occasion, of the sense they entertained of the value of his government, which concluded with a prayer for its continuance. But a wider field of glory had opened to his ambition: he was made general of the army in France, and remained prominently employed in that country for several years. His influence in Ireland was well sustained during this interval by his brother Richard, who obtained the archbishopric of Dublin in 1417, served as lord deputy during a part of 1419, as lord chancellor in 1428, and was subsequently lord justice on three or four distinct occasions, the last of which occurred in 1447. During all this period, James, the fourth Ormonde, and Talbot, first earl of Shrewsbury, represented by his brother, the active and able archbishop, were direct competitors for the ruling power in Ireland; and it was through a link in that chain of politic alliances, by which interest led each party to strengthen his own side to the utmost of his resources, that Ormonde became, as already mentioned, the patron and ally of the Desmonds, so long the great opponents of his family.

The history of England is diversified about this period by an interesting piece of biography. The young Lord Clifford, when only seven years old, was hid from his enemies by his mother, in Yorkshire, and being thence driven, by the vindictive search made for him, into Cumberland, was reared as a shepherd, in the lowliest garb and mode of living—never taught to write more than his name,—and yet became, in after-life, when he had recovered his title and fortune, distinguished for the study of the sciences, and of astronomy in particular, a love of which had grown upon him while gazing upon the stars as he watched his flock. A corresponding romance, more interesting perhaps because more tragical, and to the full as authentic, is met with in the cotemporary annals of Ireland. The only son of Thomas, the fifth Desmond, drowned,

as already related, in the Suir, was a youth of tender years when that accident occurred. We have no other means of judging of his character than those furnished by the public incidents of which he was the victim; and they suggest the idea of his having inherited few of the stern qualities by which his family had achieved their greatness, and preserved it whole and undiminished throughout successive ages of passion, corruption, and violence. Contrasted with his predecessors, the sixth Desmond seems to have been a man kind and gentle, and of so susceptible a temper, as to be unequal to contend with severe trials or to sustain adversity. Unfortunately for one so constituted, his nearest relative, an uncle named James, was, in frame of mind, in disposition, and attachments, his extreme opposite—in short, a genuine Geraldine in all the worst peculiarities of the race. Bold, restless, presumptuous, vehement, and ruthless—he seemed born to devise deep and daring plans, and carry them into execution with a vigour that never wearied or relaxed, and a heart that never pitied or repented. It is easy to conceive the feelings with which a person of this character—himself the next heir—would have seen the unmatched power of a long line of flourishing ancestors descend into the quiet hands of a youth content to enjoy them without oppressing others, and satisfied with a store more than ample for all the purposes of legitimate pleasure.

Men of an ambitious bent will make a cause, where they do not find one, to push their fortunes. The pretext laid hold of by James of Desmond to attack his nephew's inheritance, was slight in the extreme, but, in his unscrupulous hands, more than sufficient for the purpose. The young earl, returning from the chase, happened to be benighted near Abbeyfeale, the residence of one of his retainers, by name William Mac Cormac. Claiming and receiving hospitality for the night, he saw for the first time, and fell violently in love with, the daughter of his host, a young and beautiful girl, whose name was Catherine. He declared his passion—it was dishonourable, and rejected. Unable to subdue the feelings she

excited, he afterwards made her his wife—but the reward of virtue entailed fatal consequences. His immediate connections, regarding the marriage as an inferior alliance, pronounced it a degradation. The irritation of their false pride was artfully fomented by James, who soon after called upon the bridegroom to renounce a title and estates which, as he alleged, had been dishonoured by his acts. The amorous earl was ill fitted to cope with such an antagonist. Recourse having been had to arms, he was twice able to resist with some effect; a third attack, however, decided his fate. James gained the countenance of Ormonde, who saw in him a fit supporter and ally in the factious contest he was himself maintaining with the Talbots. A formal meeting took place in 1418, at Callan, in the county of Kerry—the memorable scene of a calamity suffered by his ancestors—at which Ormonde and other noblemen attended in person; and the unfortunate earl was constrained to surrender his title and estates to his uncle. By his wife, the fair cause of these reverses, he had now two children, both sons; and all he was able to procure for their maintenance were three manors—Moyallow, Broghill, and Kilcolman. Without fortitude to bear these reduced circumstances, the debarred earl withdrew to France, where he pined for some time in obscurity, and ultimately sinking under the weight of his misfortunes, died at Rouen in 1420, and was buried in Paris. Henry V. then ruled the capital, as king of France and England, and his victorious sovereign, as compassionate as he was brave, attended the funeral, as a mark of respect for the family and fate of the expatriated Desmond. During the same year Ormonde became lord lieutenant, and secured the triumph of the usurper, by sanctioning an act of parliament which confirmed the title and estates to him and his heirs for ever.

A man elevated to power by such means as the seventh Desmond had practised, was not likely to stop short in the career he had so successfully pursued. He effected a large addition to his property by producing a grant, suspected not to be genuine, of an extensive district, the inheritance of

Miles Cogan, then known as the kingdom of Cork, upon which, after expelling the families of De Courcy and Carew, he lived with all the coarse pomp of affected royalty. In this, as in the former piece of injustice, his own hardihood and Ormonde's countenance still befriended him. He received other marks of regard, which only tended to inflame his insolence. Amongst them was a license—obtained, doubtless, with a view of curing defects in the title of his new acquisitions—to purchase and hold whatever lands he pleased, notwithstanding any contrary terms of service by which they might previously have been held of the king. He was nominated governor of the counties of Kerry, Cork, Waterford, and Limerick, by one patent; and, by another, was expressly licensed to absent himself from parliament whenever he saw fit, and to send a proxy in his stead. Thus flattered and favoured, it only remained for him to give the last touch to the extraordinary character of his life and fortune, by turning upon the hand that had been so instrumental to his success, and showing that, as he never respected the rights of others when prosecuting a favourite object, so, when his ends were realised, he could spurn the patron and the policy which he had affected to value while his objects were yet distant and unattained. At the head of armed bands, the reckless followers of his daring fortune, and the rough props of its elevation, imbued with a kindred spirit of lawless adventure, and prone by habit to excess, he soon gave rise to so many and such well-grounded complaints, that Ormonde—every other appeal having failed of effect—was, at last, obliged to march all the force of government against him. A desultory campaign ensued; after which Ormonde, apparently more pressed by the intrigues of the adverse faction than by the superiority of Desmond's arms, found it expedient to bend to the authority he had assumed, and conclude with him a truce for one year.

The defection of Desmond—a man whose aid it seemed to have been the principal aim of Ormonde's policy to secure—was a signal to his enemies that his fall was approaching.

They redoubled their opposition to his government, and being abetted by Desmond, took care, while the lord lieutenant was in arms in the South, to forward the strongest expressions of discontent and remonstrance to England. These schemes produced the desired effect. Upon returning to the seat of government, Ormonde found a groom of the bedchamber waiting with a letter under the sign manual, commanding his immediate attendance in London to explain his conduct. He met the crisis with temper and address. There was an old expedient to resort to. Summoning the lords of the Pale to meet at Drogheda, he announced to them, that after having governed Ireland for three years and a half with diligent loyalty, he had been ordered, notwithstanding the dangerous state of the country, to defend himself to the king in person; but that before he obeyed the mandate he had invited the parliament to declare to the messenger whether he had committed any extortion, or been remiss in executing the laws. By thus appearing to challenge a public scrutiny, he sought to demonstrate that he was the victim of private accusation; and so won upon the lords present, that after going through the form of reviewing his conduct, it was resolved that no one there could bring forth matter of complaint against him, but, on the contrary, that all were thankful to him for a good and gracious administration of affairs. After bearing this testimony in his behalf, they further prayed the king, if he should still insist upon his presence in England, to grant him a safe conduct; and, under any circumstances, to allow his departure to be delayed until after Michaelmas, when the harvest would be gathered in: this, they added, would be to them a great comfort, and to their enemies a great confusion. These sentiments being echoed in other petitions from some of the clergy and different corporations, the order for his attendance in England was countermanded, and he continued in office for two years longer.

In 1446, however, the opposition had gained such force, that lords and commons petitioned for his removal,—setting forth specific charges of a grave character;—that he was old

and feeble, and had lost many castles because he was unable to defend them; that he had procured the return to parliament of his own creatures, for the purpose of defending his guilty courses, opposing the king's service, and the passing of good laws; that he had taken money from several lords for leave to absent themselves from parliament; and had imprisoned many loyal subjects for the purpose of getting large ransoms for their release.

Having formally and in the most public manner carried these heavy accusations, the Talbots succeeded to power without much difficulty. They failed, indeed, to convict their rival of any offence; but they had organized so strong a party, and repeated one impeachment after another with so much pertinacity, that, on the whole, Ormonde must be considered not a little fortunate in having escaped from their toils with only the loss of office. He was removed, but neither punished nor censured; which so little satisfied his adversaries, that they twice set up a charge of high treason against him,—the last urged by the prior of Kilmainham, who went over to London, and challenged him by his champion. Lists were proclaimed in Smithfield to decide the charge by knightly combat, but the king, or rather his ministers, interfered, and very properly put a stop to a quarrel which had evidently been greatly magnified by factious resentment. In the end, honourable testimony was borne to Ormonde's character and administration in the highest quarter;—the proceedings instituted against him were cancelled—while a writ, dated September 20, 1448, recited that he was "faithful in his allegiance, meritorious in his services, and untainted in his fame; that no one, on pain of the king's indignation, should revive the accusations against him, or reproach his conduct; and that his accusers were men of no credit, nor should their testimony be admitted in any case."

No acquittal could have been more triumphant, or more soothing to the feelings of a retired public man, particularly as the writ was issued during the lieutenancy of his successor and great rival, the earl of Shrewsbury, and tested by the most in-

veterate of his personal enemies, Talbot, archbishop of Dublin. He survived this event four years, and found some further occupation in those never-ending engagements with the Irish, which formed part of the customary avocations of men of his rank. He died at Ardee, August 23, 1452, and was buried in St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin.

It would not be very easy—and even if it were easy, it would hardly be useful—to investigate the long public life of the fourth Ormonde closely, and discover how far there were real grounds for the charges brought against him; whether he was superior to or no better than his compeers and accusers; and whether the firm zeal by which he and his father had signalised their attachment to the house of Lancaster, may have tended, in the scales in which he was ultimately weighed, to turn the balance in his favour. At this distance of time, and under such very different circumstances, the example—whether of good or ill, which cannot be repeated—is obsolete and valueless. There are, however, some traits in his character, and a few passages of his government, which admit of no second opinion, and redound highly to his credit. He did much to civilize and refine the civil institutions of his country. He was the first to found a College of Arms in Ireland—no mean or tasteless improvement in such an age—which he endowed with lands for its support. He was fond of antiquities, a student of history, and a patron of men of letters. To his influence in this respect we may trace some of the oldest polemical disputations connected with the history of his country. One of these was addressed to himself by James Young, under the title of "Precepts of Government"—another was written by Giles Thornton, treasurer of Ireland, upon the subject of his government,—and a third, strongly inculpatory of it, by Archbishop Talbot, which is cited by Ware, and headed, "*De Abusu Regiminis Jacobi Comitis Ormoniæ dum esset locum tenens Hiberniæ.*"

The return of the Talbots to power was signalised by the re-appointment of the celebrated chief of the family to the lord lieutenancy, and his personal assumption of the office. He came over in 1446 at the head of 700 English troops; but his

administration, though not deficient in tact and energy, can hardly be considered equal to the reputation he had gained as the successful general of the French wars. He fought O'Connor, and compelled him to enter into submissive terms of peace, and pay a large ransom for his son, whom he had taken prisoner. Further, it can only be remarked of his second administration, that if the natives were not completely reduced, their commotions did not increase. He sent over to England, as evidence of his success and their subjection, a number of Irish black cattle, which were slaughtered for the king's kitchen; and having obtained the earldom of Wexford, received the additional dignities of baron of Dungarvan and earl of Waterford, to which were annexed some high privileges and very valuable grants. The city and county of Waterford, the castle, lands, and barony of Dungarvan, with *jura regalia* over all, a right of wrecks, &c. from the city of Waterford to the borough of Youghal—the bounds of the county—were conferred upon him and his heirs for ever. He and his heirs were at the same time made stewards of Ireland, to do and execute all things to that office appertaining, as fully as the steward of England executed his office for the sister country. A year having passed in this grateful manner, Shrewsbury returned to England, leaving his brother, the archbishop, lord deputy in his stead. Another year put a period to the career of that equally active churchman and politician, who was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral, after having sat in the archiepiscopal see for three and thirty years. Ere long the triple earl was recalled to France, the true theatre of his fame, where he found a soldier's grave at the battle of Chatillon, in 1453, at the advanced age of 80 years. None of his descendants appear to have sought to maintain the eminent station he had occupied in Ireland, and henceforward the Talbots, as the chiefs of a party, or an influential family, cease to hold a conspicuous rank in the history of the country. Rising suddenly on the tragic stage of Irish contention, and vanishing from it as quickly as they appeared, they must be held to have owed their elevation as much to Archbishop Tal-

bot as to the triple earl of Shrewsbury, Wexford and Waterford. Possessed of no common talents for intrigue and management, and deriving from the primacy considerable influence for keeping his party well together, that dexterous prelate offered, in his brother, the strongest of all attractions in political contests—a head and leader with a great name and reputation. He was the first Irish politician with whom we are acquainted who laboured to improve the government of his country by his writings; and, singular enough, his Tract, already mentioned, on the abuses of the earl of Ormonde's administration, was followed up, even at that early age, by ready pamphleteers. Giles Thornton, treasurer of Ireland, wrote on the same subject, as did Jordan, bishop of Cork and Cloyne, whose epistle to Henry VI. has been preserved by Sir James Ware.

CHAPTER VII.

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF THE CONNECTION WITH ENGLAND—*continued.*

IRISH AFFAIRS FOR THE FIRST TIME AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.—THE CIVIL WARS OF YORK AND LANCASTER EXTENDED TO IRELAND.—RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK, CHIEF GOVERNOR.—DEVOTION OF THE ANGLO-IRISH TO HIS CAUSE.—EXTRAORDINARY ASCENDANCY AND FALL OF THE EARLS OF KILDARE.—TWO LORD DEPUTIES AND TWO PARLIAMENTS MAKING AND EXECUTING LAWS TOGETHER.—LAMBERT SIMNEL CROWNED KING OF IRELAND.—SIR E. POYNINGS AND HIS LAWS.—IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH IN THE TOWER, OF GERALD, EARL OF KILDARE.—EXECUTION OF HIS SON AND FIVE BROTHERS AT TYBURN.—PERSECUTION OF THE HOUSE OF DESMOND.—THE TEN YEARS' WAR AGAINST GERALD, EARL OF DESMOND.—HIS MISERABLE DEATH, CONFISCATION OF HIS PROPERTY, AND EXTIRPATION OF HIS RACE.

We have now to treat of a period during which the affairs of Ireland constitute, for the first time, an integral portion of the history of England. The civil wars of York and Lancaster involved in their disasters the principal families settled in Ireland, and made them eager parties to the bloody quarrel that had nearly depopulated both countries. These unquestionably were new ingredients in Irish politics; but they produced no lasting effects. We find the old leaven working its way, ere long, to the surface; and bringing back all the rude characteristics, which, for a brief interval only, had ceased to present themselves.

The usurpation of Henry IV. was not a wrong to the unfortunate Richard only—for the act supplanted an elder branch of the heirs of Edward III. While King Richard yet lived, he had recognized the next heir to the crown, Mortimer, earl of March, who fell, without glory, during the incursion

into Leinster narrated in the last chapter. Mortimer's title passed to his sister Anne, who married the earl of Cambridge, beheaded by Henry V., leaving a son, Richard, duke of York. In him, therefore, there was an heir to Philippa, daughter of the duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III. Henry IV., being the issue of the third son of that monarch, could have no just pretensions to the throne while the heirs of the elder branch survived.

It has already been stated, that the duke of Clarence, progenitor of the house of York, acquired, with the earldom of Ulster, and other titles, large possessions in Ireland, by his marriage with the grand-daughter and sole heiress of the Red de Burg. That inheritance, and others even more extensive and valuable in England, fell, when the earl of March was slain, to Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, then a boy only 14 years old. At a time so rife with deadly animosities, and so fruitful of desperate crimes, the youth of the rightful heir to the crown was the best security for his life. He was bred to arms, and became an accomplished soldier, holding the king's lieutenancy in France. He was sent over to Ireland as his predecessor, the earl of March, had been, because his presence in England was thought to offer to the discontented lords of that agitated realm too formidable a head for the rebellion they were suspected to be well inclined to engage in.

This event occurred in 1449, and produced striking consequences. The terms upon which the duke of York consented to become lord deputy betrayed as much the anxiety of the English court to remove him, as the sense he entertained of his own importance. The period of his government was fixed at ten years—it was agreed that he should receive the whole revenue of Ireland, without accounting for his expenditure of it —and further, that he should let the crown lands, place and displace all officers, and levy forces as he should think proper. 2000 marks were paid in advance, to meet the costs of his outfit; and a pension of 2000 more was settled upon him, to cover the expenses which a vigorous administration in the existing state of Ireland was considered to require.

These royal powers and liberal resources were well calculated to attract attention: but the duke of York had personal qualities still better adapted to win a legitimate popularity. Brave without temerity, and possessed of talents and a judgment which rendered him equally distinguished in the council chamber and on the field of battle,—a good speaker, and as courteous in his expressions as he was polished in his manners,—he was further recommended to all hearts by a natural goodness of disposition, which the stern character of the age had seldom exhibited in men of his rank. His government, commended by all historians, was on a large and imposing scale, corresponding with the extent of his authority and the splendour of his wealth. Numerous tenants, from his Irish estates, crowded to his court; and as he stood clear of party distinctions, and leaned to none of the baronial factions by which the country had been so violently harassed, he escaped envy and resentment. All were glad to pay respect to a prince who entertained all with equal cordiality and magnificence. To so nice a point did he carry the observance of this even-handed policy, that when his second son, George, duke of Clarence, was born in the castle of Dublin, he chose the rival earls of Desmond and Ormonde to be his sponsors. Nor was his conduct to the native princes less worthy: he observed the conditions of the treaties in force with a degree of faith not always displayed; and expressed an anxiety for improving the condition of the occupiers of the soil, which gave his authority a paternal character unknown in the previous annals of the country. Thus endeared to every rank, peace and prosperity became the companions of his government; and the White Rose, taking root in the affections of the people, long survived the reverses which soon after befel its principal hero.

Admirably as the duke fulfilled his engagements, the English court does not appear to have kept with him the faith he observed with others. An interesting letter, preserved in Campion, tells us that the large salary promised to him soon fell into arrear, and that his means of keeping the country tranquil were much straightened.

Right worshipful, he begins, and, with all my heart, entirely

beloved brother, I commend me to you as heartily as I can. May it please you (the tenour and not the particular expression or order of the letter is here quoted) to know that since I wrote his highness our sovereign lord the king, Mageoghehan, the Irish enemy, with three or four Irish captains, associating with a great fellowship of English rebels, have, notwithstanding their allegiance, maliciously and revengefully burnt a large town of mine, Rhamore, in the county of Meath, together with other villages thereabouts, murdering and burning men, women, and children, without mercy. These enemies are still assembled in woods and forts watching their opportunity to molest the king's subjects. For this reason I now write to the king's highness, beseeching his good grace to hasten my payment for this country, according to the warrant lately given to the treasurer of England, so that I may wage a sufficient number of men to resist our enemies, and so punish them, that others who would do the same, if unresisted, may take warning. For, doubtless, if my pay be not received in all haste to procure men for the defence and safeguard of this land, my power will not stretch to keep it obedient to the king, and very necessity will compel me to come into England and live there upon my poor livelihood. I had rather be dead than any inconvenience should be felt from fault of mine. It shall never be chronicled, nor remain in writing, by the grace of God, that Ireland was lost by my negligence. I therefore beseech you, right worshipful brother, that you will hold to your hand instantly, that my payment may be had at this time, eschewing all inconveniences. I have been taught by examples in other places to dread shame, and to acquit my truth to the king's highness, as is my duty. I pray and exhort you, my good brother, to show this to his good grace, and that you will be so good as to have my language recorded in the present parliament as my excuse in time to come, and that you will be good to my servant, Roger Roe, the bearer hereof.

Written at Dublin, the 15th of June.

Your faithful true brother,

Richard York.

This appeal, in all probability, had the desired effect, as we find the duke soon after leading a force against Mac Geoghan, and dissipating the apprehended danger. The Abbé Mac Geoghan boasts that his tribe kept to their arms and fastnesses, and could not be reduced; but it is certain that the chief entered into a treaty, and finding the terms of it honourably observed by the duke's officers, took care to offer no provocation on his part for a renewal of hostilities. He was content, says Leland, to boast to his followers, that he had given peace to the king's lieutenant.

Sir John Davies, who generally writes with impartiality, and reasons correctly upon the events he narrates, dismisses the administration of Richard, duke of York, briefly, and in rather disparaging terms. Speaking of the courses taken to reform Ireland, he says, "Albeit, in the time of King Henry VI., Richard, duke of York, a prince of the blood, of great wisdom and valour, and heir to a third part of the kingdom at least, being earl of Ulster, and lord of Conaght and Meath, was sent, the king's lieutenant into Ireland, to recover and reform that realm, where he was resident in person for the greatest part of ten years; yet the truth is, he aimed at another mark, which was the crown of England. And, therefore, he thought it no policy to distaste either the English or Irish by a course of reformation, but sought, by all means, to please them, and, by popular courses, to steal away their hearts, to the end he might strengthen his party when he should set on foot his title."

This account does not present a fair view of the duke of York's character and conduct. He unquestionably aimed at the English crown, and neglected no honourable act likely to favour his attainment of that great object. At the same time, there appears no ground for believing that he carried popularity by base practices, or made a rampant party in his favour, by allowing any one set of men a license to abuse the rest of the community. On the contrary, there is room to observe of him more pointedly than of many others, that he had the good sense to perceive how easily a smooth path to

popularity is opened by simple justice. It is certain that no one could have gathered to a cause a greater number of supporters than the duke won to his; and there is no evidence to prove that unworthy means were resorted to for the purpose. In the two parliaments he held, one at Dublin, and one at Drogheda, different Acts were passed to curb the privileges and punish the exactions of the great lords and landowners, and to prevent grievances in the administration of the law. It was not, therefore, by indulging the views or tolerating the enormities of the aristocracy, that he drew adherents round him; for he aimed strong and effective blows against many of those who were the most likely to minister to his ambition. It was by a mild exercise of authority, by a gracious deportment to men, who being proud, were quick to appreciate uniform urbanity in a superior, and by an impartial recognition of every just claim to distinction, that he was enabled to add to the comfort and security of the mass of the people, and concurrently to make sure friends of the very magnates who had previously been in the habit of using that mass as a body of vassals created and subsisting, like the beast of the field, for their profit and enjoyment. In the still more difficult task of composing the jealousies of the leading families around his person, he was equally successful. The Geraldines and Butlers were alike distinguished at his court; and though Ormonde was well known to favour the house of Lancaster, no obstacle was offered by the duke to prevent a parliament at Drogheda from voting the king an address of thanks for his late acquittal of that earl. When soon after the duke returned to England, he left Ormonde in the chief command as his deputy.

The influence acquired by such an administration, excited, ere long, the natural fears of the court of England. It was then contended that every step taken by the duke was studiously directed to party purposes; he was denounced as being deeply involved in plots to secure the crown,—was accused of instigating Jack Cade's insurrection, and declared to be preparing an army for a descent upon England. So formidable did

the reports to this effect appear in London, that letters were despatched to the sheriffs of Wales, Shropshire, and Cheshire, calling upon them to oppose his landing. The duke, however, did land, but not at the head of a hostile force. He came peaceably and privately to vindicate himself to Henry, and as if to show how little of mischief he meditated in Ireland, Ormonde, as just stated, a decided partisan of the House of Lancaster, was the person he deputed to govern in his absence. This frank proceeding led to an apparent reconciliation, after which the duke retired to his estates in Wales. Ormonde being soon after summoned over to England, his place as deputy was successively filled by John May, archbishop of Armagh, and Sir E. Fitz-Eustace, a military commander of high character, who vindicated his fame by defeating the sept of O'Neil in a fierce engagement at Ardglass, with the loss of 700 slain.

The duke of York's retirement cut asunder the ties of peace in both countries. A prince of Wales was born, and his friends lost all patience. The king's imbecility, it was asserted, incapacitated him from governing, and parliament appointed the duke of York protector and lieutenant of the realm. Both parties now hastened to test their pretensions by force of arms, and a battle was fought at St. Albans, in which the duke, carrying the field, obtained possession of the king's person and all the authority of government.

The victor was not slow in turning this advantage to his best account. He adopted decided measures to strengthen his interests in every direction. Displacing Fitz-Eustace in Ireland, he gave the administration of that country to the earl of Kildare, a devoted ally and an implacable rival of Ormonde, who led the Irish Lancastrians. Complete success would, in all probability, have crowned the efforts of one so able and accomplished, had not Margaret, queen of Henry VI., been a woman of superior capacity and amazing spirit. She rallied her husband's party, and defeating the duke at Blore, regained the ascendancy, and made a precipitate return to Ireland his best policy.

No conqueror could have been welcomed with more joy than the discomfited governor. All the natural enthusiasm of the Irish heart, and that lively, inextinguishable devotion, which the people have, in all ages, been celebrated for lavishing upon their favourites and benefactors, burst forth with a generous warmth. They thought not of the defeat their hero had sustained—they knew he needed countenance, support, and followers, and these they resolved to give promptly and energetically. While a parliament in England attainted him in form, and proclaimed his adherents rebels and traitors, another parliament in Ireland passed an Act confirming the patent, by which the king had made him lieutenant of that country, and declared it treason to imagine, compass, or effect his destruction or death. The king's writ was sent over to seize and bring some of his followers to justice, but the authority was disregarded, and one messenger, an agent of the earl of Ormonde, who ventured to act upon it, was seized, tried, and executed as a traitor.

This devotion was triumphantly rewarded. A fortunate diversion in the duke's favour resulted from the battle of Northampton, in which his partisans were victorious, and he took his departure from Ireland, escorted by so numerous a throng of barons, knights, gentlemen, and soldiers, that the country was said to be literally drained of its occupiers. At the head of this body he reached London, where the parliament, awed by the presence of his party, declared him successor to the crown. Thus far the Irish had full cause to be proud,—they had restored their benefactor to the rights of his blood, and elevated a prince to the throne.

But the indomitable Margaret was still busily engaged. She roused the beaten friends of the house of Lancaster, and brought together a force in the North of England, which grew so rapidly in strength, that the duke found it necessary to hasten from London to encounter it. The Lancastrians now amounted to 20,000, while the York party mustered no more than 5,000, principally Irish. Hoping to overcome the disadvantage of greater numbers by superior

valour, the duke gave battle, and was overwhelmed. The field bore conclusive testimony to the gallant spirit by which he and his small army were animated. Scarcely a man survived. So utter was the slaughter of the Anglo-Irish, that for years after, their lands lay unprotected; and the native chieftains, taking advantage of their defenceless state, fell upon the few who still occupied them, and found it an easy matter to compel them to pay tribute, and to purchase peace on any terms.

The council of Ireland, upon recovering from the consternation produced by the defeat of their chivalry, and the death of their hero, proceeded to elect a chief governor, pending the king's pleasure, as it was termed. True to the spirit by which the whole country had been so vividly animated, their choice fell upon Thomas, earl of Kildare, the boldest and most active member of the York party in Ireland. He was in many respects well suited to hold the highest post at such a juncture. Head of the Geraldines of Kildare, and nearly as powerful by the extent and value of his possessions as his cousin, the Geraldine of Desmond, he was particularly distinguished by rough natural talents, and a hearty courage, that imparted a certain air of dignity to its wildest excesses. Taking the lead now of all other Irish lords in directing the affairs of Ireland, he ran one of those terrific careers, such as the race to which he belonged so frequently entered upon—a career insolent and irregular, big with tragic vicissitudes, chequered by repeated reverses and elastic recoveries—now bright with the purple and gold in which triumph arrays her favourites —now crimsoned with the blood by which, in evil days, success is achieved and upheld—and now dark with the horrors of failure, disgrace, and punishment. His heirs sustained his character and position for a long period: thus the history of one family again becomes the history of the whole country for full a century. This ascendancy was preceded by a short and unfortunate interval, during which a kindred Desmond swayed the island.

Edward IV., upon ascending the throne, confirmed Thomas,

earl of Kildare, in his office, but soon after gave it for life to his own brother, George, duke of Clarence. The latter appointed Sir Roland Fitz-Eustace, now created Lord Portlester, as his deputy; but he was soon after required to make way for Kildare's relative, who had gained a singular and sanguinary advantage, on the king's behalf, against the Butlers. The cause and circumstances of this quarrel were of the old character. James, fifth earl of Ormonde, created earl of Wiltshire in the English peerage, by the late king, had been seized and summarily beheaded, as a rebel, by the followers of the house of York. His brother, and heir, Sir John Butler, took up arms to revenge this party cause, and being supported by some Irish septs, and many Lancastrian fugitives from England, presented so formidable an array to the deputy, as to render it prudent for the latter to solicit the aid of Desmond. This was readily granted: it was a point of family honour with the Geraldine to fight a Butler whenever an opportunity offered. Desmond marched forth, at the head of an irregular force, from Shannatt Castle, where he maintained his barbaric court. A desultory campaign of varying fortunes ensued, until the English allies of Sir John Butler, worn out by the harassing fatigues of a service carried on over bogs and mountains, entreated their commander to try their valour in the open field. The two forces met near Wexford—the Geraldines relying on their spirit and numbers, the Butlers on English discipline and their own courage. Here the strength of the Geraldines proved irresistible: after driving their enemies from the field, they proceeded to Kilkenny, seized and plundered Ormonde's castle and the principal towns of his territory, and compelled the surviving remnants of his routed retainers to take refuge in distant forts and obscure fastnesses. It was to reward this sweeping victory of the house of York over the Lancastrians, that Desmond was nominated lord deputy. But for this high office he had few befitting qualities. Hurried on by the characteristic ambition of the absolute palatine of Desmond, he despised the proper duties of a royal governor, and was vain, rash and impolitic. His first en-

terprise as lord deputy was mortifying. The native septs invaded Meath: he proceeded to repel them, and was taken prisoner, but rescued by a steady ally, O'Connor of Offaly. The O'Briens of Thomond next provoked his arms, and he terminated his contest with that fierce band, as illegally as ingloriously, by promising to pay them tribute. In less formidable quarters his exactions were enormous, and his plunder of the people ruthless. So wild and lawless was his career of extravagance, that Sherwood, bishop of Meath, sent emissaries to England to complain of his outrageous government. Desmond took prompt steps to counteract this attempt to subvert his rule. Calling a parliament at Wexford, he obtained flattering testimonials of his public services, and leave to appoint a viceregent, while he repaired to defend himself before the king in person. On this mission he was completely successful, and felt so grateful for the reception given him by his sovereign, as to cause several statutes to pass in the next parliament he summoned, for the better defence of the Pale, for the improvement of its inhabitants, both in manners and habits of life, and a closer approximation to English institutions.

Notwithstanding these grateful measures, the innate pride of his family ere long precipitated his downfall. The king married Elizabeth Grey, and Desmond, boastful of his own high descent, indulged in some contemptuous remarks upon her majesty's low origin, which were quickly reported at the English court. Out of this gossip, as we are told, arose the nomination of Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, as lord deputy, who was peremptorily instructed to scrutinize with strictness the acts of Desmond's administration, and to punish with severity any charges which could be sustained against him. A parliament was soon formed to meet the views of the new governor. They began their work with an act against paying tribute to the Irish, which would have been proper enough, if many of its authors had not made themselves notorious by their violation of its principle. They proceeded to enact, that as the kings of England held the lordship of Ireland by grant from the Holy See, all archbishops and bishops should, after a monition of forty

days, excommunicate all disloyal subjects as heretics! This done, they crowned their servile labours by attainting the earls of Kildare and Desmond, with E. Plunket, Esq. Desmond, indignant at such treatment, came boldly forward to face the danger, and was beheaded without trial! Kildare was made prisoner, but contriving to escape to England, profited largely, either by the force of his appeal, by the indignation universally felt at the violation of all the forms of justice in his cousin's violent death, or by the peculiar effect, which had so often proved irresistible in the case of many of his ancestors, produced upon the royal mind by the originality of his appearance and address. Not only were his titles and estates restored, but he was replaced in his former office of lord deputy; while Tiptoft, doomed to suffer the fate which has so commonly and so justly befallen the creatures of tyrannical power, returned to England discomfited and discontented, and there joining a new conspiracy, soon after lost his own life as he had taken the life of Desmond.

Kildare signalized his second administration by an act of no mean political ability. He founded a military order, called the Fraternity of St. George, consisting of the great landowners of the Pale, and a chosen body of knights, esquires, and archers, amongst whom thirteen persons of the highest consequence in the four counties of Kildare, Dublin, Meath and Argial, took the lead. The earl himself, Lord Portlester, and his brother, Sir E. Fitz-Eustace, stood for the first; Lord Howth, Sir R. Dowdal, and the mayor of Dublin for the second; Lord Gormanstown, Edward and Robert Plunket, and Robert Taaf for the third; Sir Lawrence Taaf, Richard Bellew, and the mayor of Drogheda for the last. They were to assemble annually on St. George's day, to express their zeal for the English government, and to choose their captain, who was to have a train of 120 mounted archers, and 40 other horsemen, each with an attendant. For the support of this troop the fraternity received authority to levy twelve pence in the pound on all merchandize sold in Ireland, except hides, and any goods be-

longing to the freemen of Dublin and Drogheda. The avowed objects of this institution were the defence of the Pale and the maintenance of the English interest; but its real purport was the muster of an array strong enough to defeat the native Irish, and also to control the king's government. Had the founder of this body been allowed sufficient time to train it to the different uses it seems to have been calculated to render, his ambitious authority, fortified by so formidable a sustaining force, might have long endured supreme; but his plans were interrupted. While he was acting in Ireland, John Butler, heir to the last attainted earl of Ormonde, animated by the spirit of antagonism which had always distracted the two families, was recommending himself to the royal friendship, and undermining his rival's influence at the English court. Backed in this artful line of conduct by the complaints of unprincipled abuses and cruel wrongs which never ceased to pour from Ireland, and by the vacillation which never failed to accompany the English policy, he ultimately effected the appointment of Sherwood, bishop of Meath, as lord deputy. The bishop was Kildare's personal enemy, and therefore Ormonde's friend. Summoning without delay one of those factious parliaments ever ready to meet when extreme measures were to be carried, he repealed the acts of attainder against Ormonde, and gave him back the earldom and estates enjoyed by his ancestors.

This sudden change threw the whole kingdom into confusion: in all quarters the family feud of the Butlers and Geraldines raged with desperate fury; in vain the king commissioned the archbishop of Armagh to act as a mediator, and compose the general discord; no law, authority, or dominion, but those of arms and brute force, prevailed, when, fortunately for all parties, Ormonde, impelled either by remorse or devotion, proceeded on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Soon after his departure Kildare died, leaving the Geraldines evidently predominant both in England and Ireland, for his son Gerald, the eighth earl, became deputy.

Ere long, Edward felt the usual distrust at the administration of an Irish deputy, and sent over his brother-in-law, Lord Grey, to assume that office. It was now that the haughty chieftain of Kildare, displaying at its full height the ascendancy acquired by his father, rivalled his kindred of Desmond in the temerity of his proceedings and his unlimited contempt for king and laws. He led the Irish lords to except to the form of the king's appointment, and then flatly refused to obey the royal letter in which it was given. Grey, nevertheless, proceeded to act upon his commission, at which Kildare, nothing daunted, continued his own office, and summoned and prorogued parliaments as if still the unremoved and undisputed representative of the crown. There were now, therefore, two lords deputies, and two parliaments; and both of them were making laws and carrying them into execution. Portlester, the chancellor, supported Kildare, and carried the mace before him; while Keating, the turbulent prior of Kilmainham, and constable of Dublin Castle, fortified the walls against Lord Grey, and repelled him from the gates by force of arms. Grey's parliament annulled the acts passed by Kildare's body, and cancelled the great seal retained by Portlester.

While this contention was still raging, the duke of Clarence died; and King Edward giving the succession to the duke's son, George, an infant, declared Lord Grey his deputy. The opposition parliament met this appointment by a counter-proceeding. They assembled together boldly, styling themselves his majesty's council, and unanimously elected Kildare as his deputy.

Worn out, at length, by this obstinate resistance, and the general turmoil created by it, Edward summoned Kildare, the archbishop of Dublin, and others, to explain matters before him, and take his own instructions as to their future conduct. At about the same time Lord Grey returned, and was succeeded by Lord Gormanstown. This latter step pleased Kildare's party, for Gormanstown was an original member of the Fraternity of St. George, who were plainly bent upon making Ireland their own.

Kildare experienced the usual success at court. Either his excuses appeared so fair, or his power seemed so formidable, that it was deemed useless to continue the altercation with him. Young Clarence had died, and his brother Richard, duke of York, was now lord lieutenant. To him Kildare was declared deputy for four years, and allowed a train of 140 horsemen, and a maintenance of £500 a year; and if the Irish revenue should prove unequal to the payment of the money, the deficiency was to be made good in England. No victory was given to either of the rival parliaments. A selection of the statutes passed by each was made, and these it was determined to re-enact in a new parliament, with an unobjectionable title.

The earl of Kildare now enjoyed a pre-eminence which, if not unprecedented, had never been surpassed. The confidence reposed in him by Edward, and the powers expressly vested in him by the parliament, which he convoked, to carry out the instructions given him during his recent visit to England—and which he seems to have fairly observed—made him even more than king. He ruled absolutely within the Pale by the royal authority, and out of it by the respect, denied to other English lords, but yielded to his office by the native Irish. Inconsistent as Kildare's observance of the royal advice and pleasure may at a first glance appear, it agreed perfectly with the policy which he, his party and predecessors, had always acted upon. As it was their main object to be the actual governors of the country, a colourable subordination to England was not disagreeable to them. On the contrary, it suited their scheme to yield to that authority, when they were enabled, by so doing, to establish one still more absolute. The men who enjoyed frequent opportunities to commit enormous abuses, without being rebuked or punished, could not always refuse to comply with the demands of the crown: they would even yield occasionally to encroachments upon their own rights, while privileged to encroach still more upon the rights of others.

In this unusual state of high interest at the English court, and strong influence over both races in Ireland, Kildare continued to govern without interruption during the remainder of

the reign of Edward IV., during the short reign of Edward V., and the usurpation of Richard III. He was, in point of fact, too powerful to be interfered with or removed. It was upon this conviction, no doubt, that Henry VII., notwithstanding his strong attachment to his own house of Lancaster, retained Kildare at the head of the Irish government. A similar feeling had led the accomplished Ormonde, when recovering the English title of earl of Wiltshire, held by his father, and obtaining a seat at the privy council, to abandon the troubled theatre of Irish contention, and confine his residence to England. Kildare thus stood single and supreme. But political appointments, when they do not rest on the basis of mutual confidence between the patron and the servant, and are only recommended by the suggestions of expediency, are of an uncertain tenure.

Rumours of insurrection, and intimations of conspiracy in Ireland, began to be busily circulated through the English court, all pointing to a romantic tale of the escape of one of the children of Richard, duke of York, from the hands of assassins in the Tower, who was to appear in Ireland at the head of the old friends of his ancestry. By degrees the story gained ground, and so moved the king, that he called upon Kildare to appear and render an account of the state of the country. The lord deputy, however, seems to have been fully apprised of the difference between the characters of Edward IV. and Henry VII., and to have apprehended that the invitation might be an artifice contrived to destroy him. In this difficulty he imitated the example, now centuries old, set by one of the most famous of his ancestors, Raymond le Gros. Convoking his barons formally together, he laid the royal mandate before them, with an expression of his anxious desire to obey it. Against such a step the council remonstrated in form, upon the ground that the government would be perilled, if the lord deputy should leave the country. Henry either felt, or affected to be, satisfied with the excuse, and Kildare was not long in affording overt proof of disloyalty. Lambert Simnel reached Ireland, and, after having been en-

tertained by the deputy with sovereign pomp, was proclaimed king in Dublin, and was crowned in the cathedral. Parliament was summoned to appear before him, under the title of Edward VI., when the arrival of some German troops to aid his cause, raised the hopes of his sanguine partisans to so high a pitch, that they determined to invade England.

Two brothers, of the house of Fitzgerald, were despatched to lead their fellow countrymen, who, ere long, came in contact with the royal army at Stoke, near Newark. The high and ardent passion with which the Irish cherished the house of York, was displayed upon that field with unabated vigour. Though opposed by superior numbers, and more lightly armed, the victory was long doubtful. Driven from their position they rallied, charged anew, and when again beaten, died almost to a man upon the spot rather than seem to abandon the White Rose in flight.

Henry not only pardoned this daring act of rebellion in the lord deputy, but continued him in his office. It was not generosity nor mercy that dictated this forbearance, but caution. He felt that he was not yet strong enough to act as he desired with perfect security. He still required the strength of the English settler to keep the oppressed natives in subjection; and he prudently resolved to bide a better time. A royal deputation traversed from Kinsale to Dublin, and received afresh, as subjects, all those who gave assurance of their repentance by swearing fealty. Kildare held back awhile, and sought to evade the oath; but he ultimately took it upon the consecrated host. Soon after he repaired to Greenwich with other lords, and did homage to the king in person. Henry entertained the party with ostentatious magnificence, but indulged in a piece of contemptuous revenge, by producing the mock King Simnel to his late admirers in the character of a scullion from the royal kitchen serving the sideboard.

New dangers at length compelled the king to propound measures for an improved system of government. In the year 1493 Perkin Warbeck made his appearance at Cork in the

character of Richard Plantagenet, and was hailed forthwith by the earl of Desmond. Before there was time, however, for active hostilities, Perkin was invited into France, and hastened to consult the more powerful ally.

Such was the juncture at which Henry resolved to place the royal authority in Ireland upon a new footing. So little had the course of action tolerated by his predecessors either weakened the strength of the native Irish, or extended the English power, that, in an old tract, entitled "Pandarus sive Salus Populi," there were now enumerated no less than sixty districts, each held by an independent native chieftain, upon a mixed scheme of government, partly made up of ancient usages, and partly the will of the actual ruler. The kingdoms and larger native principalities had long ceased to exist in form or substance, but in their stead remained the numerous small fragments, into which they had been broken up, each opposing its sharp and uneven edges in every direction to the progress of peace and consolidation. Such was the state of a large portion of the country more than three hundred years after its connection with England. In several others the barons and principal settlers had given up English customs and institutions, and adopted by degrees the language and many of the worst peculiarities of Irish society and jurisprudence. When their followers were numerous and active, no enterprise was too bold for their arms; and when they were entrusted with the administration of affairs, they passed, through the instrumentality of their creatures in the miscalled parliaments of the period, such statutes as a sense of interest or a spirit of revenge happened to dictate.

The effects of an example so easily imitated were conspicuously developed. The heads of the old Irish principalities bearded the English nobility in the very heart of the Pale, assumed the title of king, and treated independently for war and peace: they had been as little reduced to subjection as the English lords to order. Baron Finglas, Sir J. Davies, Dr. Leland, and writers of equal authority, dwell with significant regret, while relating the affairs of this period, upon the

reduced and narrow limits of the English Pale, and they dilate upon the fact as evidence of the decay of the English interest: but a broad line of distinction is to be drawn in every view of the Pale between the English interest in Ireland and the dominions of the crown. We shall generally be correct enough when we speak of the limits of the Pale as the bounds of the royal authority. They were not, however, the confines of the English possessions or English influence. The Pale was for ages no more than the extent of territory over which the lord lieutenant of the day exercised positive jurisdiction, and the king's judges went circuit regularly. The English interest had a very different range, embracing the lands, rights and pretensions of the Desmonds in Munster, and the Butlers in Tipperary, and other barons, such as those of Lixnaw in Kerry, who, however anxious to withdraw their persons and their castles from the power of the crown, always held themselves not only distinct from but superior to the party of the natives. These men stretched out their feudal and palatinal pretensions boldly, and maintained them at the highest pitch. At all times, therefore, when considering the English interest in Ireland, we should not confine our observation to the extent of the king's acknowledged dominions, but include the possessions of all the English settlers and their descendants.

But whatever view may be taken of the state of the country, and the degree of its dependance upon the crown of England, it will be admitted on all hands that ample room was to be found for improvement in both respects. The proceedings adopted by Henry VII. partook of the character for talent awarded to him by most historians. The first step was to choose an efficient governor; the next to send over with him a force sufficient to command respect; and the third to appoint new men as the best instruments for carrying out the reforms now at length to be seriously undertaken. In Sir Edward Poynings, who landed in 1494, and whose name continued so long conspicuous in the annals of the country, Henry found a deputy eminently qualified, both in the field and

at the council table, to render the new era effective, and to subdue the oligarchy, whose dominion had so long been equally insulting to the throne and oppressive to the people. Poynings arrived with a force of 1,000 men, with a new lord chancellor, the bishop of Bangor; a new lord treasurer, Sir Hugh Conway; and a train of English lawyers, who displaced the former judges.

Although disposed to think favourably of the policy now resorted to, we cannot withdraw from observation the many points in which it was unsuitable. The plan, abstractedly taken, was well calculated to realize the end proposed—if it could have been promptly reduced to practice. Its great defect lay in the difficulty of working it. The overgrown power of the barons stood every where in the way, and impeded its action. Poyning began properly enough with active measures. The O'Hanlons had taken up arms in the North, and he marched against them. But no sooner had he left the seat of government, than Kildare's brother seized and fortified the castle of Carlow. This diversion upon the part of the English interest compelled the deputy to conclude a treaty in haste with the Irish insurgents, and return to the Pale. Making Kildare prisoner upon a charge of complicity in the brother's designs, he laid siege to Carlow Castle, and in a week obtained its surrender—upon formal articles, however, which placed punishment and example out of his reach.

In fourteen months after his arrival, the lord deputy summoned, at Drogheda, the parliament, which passed, amongst other statutes, the well-known "Poynings' law." The chief of these enactments were, 1st. An act authorizing the treasurer of Ireland to make officers account in England for the receipts of the king's revenues. 2. The chancellor, treasurer, judges, and all officers were to be appointed, not as heretofore, for life, but during the king's pleasure. 3. The acts of every future parliament were to be first approved by the king and council, in England, and only proposed in Ireland when certified under the stamp of the Seal of England. 4. All English statutes against provisors to Rome were to be executed in Ireland.

The statutes of Kilkenny were confirmed, except that against the use of the Irish language, which had now become so general in the English settlements, that it was tolerated of necessity. 5. No store of military ordnance was to be kept in any house or garrison without a license from the deputy. 6. Born Englishmen only were to be constables of castles. 7. A better custody was provided of the records of the earldoms of March, Connaught, Trim, and Ulster. 8. Lords of parliament were ordered to appear in robes, as in England. 9. No peace or war was to be made without a license from the chief governor. 10. The new manner of coine and livery was abolished, and the rate declared at which soldiers in time of hostility should pay for meat and drink. 11. Family war-cries were forbidden, as Cromaboo, the battle-shout or warison of the Geraldines, Butleraboo of the Ormondes, Lambhlaideraboo of the O'Briens. 12. All statutes made in England for the common weal were to be accepted and executed in Ireland, and the acts of the parliament held at Drogheda by Lord Gormanstown were repealed.

Comprehensive as was this series of statutes, and indicative of deliberate reflection and superior intelligence, the capital omission in them of all mention of the people of the country ought not to escape our notice or our censure. In all his provisions, Poynings never once seems to have regarded the community governed by the English as proper objects for legislation. By giving the sovereign and his ministers in England a decisive voice in the direction of Irish affairs, and by insisting that every law should be approved in England, and ratified in Ireland, before it became binding—he believed that a master-key had been found to unlock the rusty bolts of the king's government. And perhaps, if the scheme devised could have been brought into active operation, it might have availed in some degree to mitigate the anarchy and desolation, which had imparted so harsh and dismal a character to the history of the connection between the two countries. But when political evils happen to be the growth of ages, the lapse of ages is generally required to eradicate them. In the instance before us,

at least, as we shall presently see, this proved to be the case. Poynings, having passed his acts and dismissed his parliament, divided the administration of civil and military affairs between different officers, and pronounced his work perfect. Returning then to England with the reputation of having reduced the barons to order, and firmly established the king's government, he received the order of the Garter as a reward for his services.

Before he departed, however, Perkin Warbeck, led by Desmond, marched to besiege Waterford; while the Butlers, impelled by their double hatred of the Geraldines and the White Rose, advanced to relieve the city. Upon this, Perkin betook himself to Scotland, and the Lancastrians, denouncing Kildare as a party implicated in the treason of his kinsman Desmond, pressed the deputy to hand him over for summary execution. Poyning was satisfied to send the earl a prisoner to Henry. The issue of this proceeding was singular. When admitted after some time to confront his accusers in the royal presence, Kildare carried his cause triumphantly, by that mixture of frankness and confidence, the novelty of which had proved so often irresistible in the persons of several of his ancestors. Treating his accusers, who dealt in generalities, surmises, and suspicions, with the sternness of a superior, as if still in Ireland, and on his own domain; he appeared to Henry in no respect the subtle and dark conspirator he had been represented, but a blunt artless man; unrefined, it was true, yet sincere and unaffected; easy in his demeanour, and nothing daunted by the charge brought against him or the royal presence. The king warned him to provide himself with able counsel, as he feared his case "might require no less."—"That I will," replied the earl, quickly seizing the royal hand, "and the very ablest in the land—I will have no less than your highness; you shall be my counsel against these saucy fellows."

As a specimen of the accusations, we cannot pass the well-known anecdote as to sacrilege, by burning, in one of his lawless excursions, the cathedral of Cashel to the ground. "Yea," said Kildare, cutting short the tedious detail of evidence, "I did set fire to the church; but I thought the

bishop had been in it." The simplicity of this avowal was hailed with a shout of laughter, in the midst of which the accusers averred, that "all Ireland could not govern this earl." To this, pleased perhaps with an opportunity of closing an extraordinary scene with a display of his own wit, Henry retorted, "This earl, then, shall govern all Ireland;" and he kept his word: Kildare was restored to his estate and honours, and made lord deputy. Desmond, at his recommendation, was pardoned; and the government of Ireland proceeding in the old spirit, the improved enactments of Poynings were wholly disregarded. Kildare, however, made his administration effective after his own fashion. His name, we are told, was terrible to the Irish enemy, and formidable to the English rebel. Every Irishman who appeared in arms, was hunted down with unremitting vigilance and unrelenting severity. In Thomond, Waterford, and Ulster, he fought and conquered. In a word, his pre-eminence was so complete, that Ireland seemed to be held by England wholly through him. Henry rewarded his exploits by making him a Knight of the Garter.

The extent of Kildare's power is further displayed by the alliances he contracted for his family, which comprised all interests. Giving one daughter to Piers Butler, the rival of James, earl of Ormonde, he divided the family of his foes. Piers, emboldened by his connection with the Geraldine, slew James, and stepped into his power and possessions. Other daughters were married to Irish chieftains—as Macarty, prince of Carbery, and O'Donel, lord of Tyrconnel and all Donegal. The case of one of his grandchildren, daughter of Piers Butler,* now earl of Ormonde, and wife of Ulick Burke of Clanrickarde, the great lord of Connaught, may be referred to as affording conclusive proof that the new Knight of the

* Leland, and others after him, say that Ulick Clanrickarde's wife was Kildare's daughter; but, according to the pedigree of the De Burg family, in Archdale's edition of Lodge, (vol. iv. p. 21,) Ulick de Burg, first earl of Clanrickarde, had only one wife, Margaret, daughter of Piers, eighth earl of Ormonde, by Margaret, daughter of Gerald, eighth earl of Kildare, (vol. iv. p. 21).

Garter still regarded the government of Ireland as a feudal possession, and not a public trust. Lady Clanrickarde, ill-treated by her husband, applied for help to her father. The interests of government, says Leland, had nothing to do with this family quarrel. Kildare, nevertheless, took the field on his grand-daughter's behalf, as if engaged on the king's service, in all the state of a chief governor, and with the usual attendants of his court. The lords of the Pale and the O'Neils and other Irish septs, allies and followers of the Geraldines, flocked to his standard. On the other side, the Burkes, summoning the O'Briens to their aid, offered a determined resistance. These forces met at Knocktow, near Galway, where the deputy gained a decisive victory over the "English rebel and Irish enemy" united together. With the exception of some of the O'Neils in Ulster, and the O'Briens in Thomond, there were none who now disclaimed allegiance; and we may judge of the spirit of the times by the observation of Lord Gormanstown at the close of this battle. "Now we have slain our enemies; but to complete the good deed we should get rid of our Irish friends."

Thus triumphant in all quarters, still retaining the undiminished confidence of the English crown, and continued as chief governor by Henry VIII., Gerald, the eighth and greatest earl of Kildare, took suddenly sick, and died September 3, 1513. The consternation produced by this event was extreme. The army disbanded of its own accord; and the government, so long dependent upon him alone, was left as it were without defence or support.

The council, disregarding Poyning's statutes, which made the treasurer lord deputy under such circumstances, quickly elected Gerald, ninth earl of Kildare, to the vacant office: their choice was confirmed by Henry VIII. Animated by all his father's boldness and irritability, the new governor proved nearly as potent, but far less fortunate. Pursuing the example under which he had been reared, of keeping the Irish in subjection, by waging constant war against them, he recommended himself highly in the earlier part of his

career to the favour of his sovereign, and received as his recompense a patent grant of the customs and other profits arising out of the ports of Strangford and Ardglass, in the county of Down.

But though he strengthened himself with an English interest, by marrying the marquis of Dorset's daughter, and gratified Henry by attending with a wild retinue at the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," he found his vigilant rivals of the house of Ormonde still vexing and undermining his supremacy. His father had thought to allay that eternal feud by marrying his daughter Margaret to Piers, the eighth earl; and further, by going to war, as already related, with Ulick de Burg, to resent his ill-treatment of his wife, a daughter of Ormonde by that marriage. The present lord deputy accordingly was Lady Ormonde's nephew: her husband, however, was not the less the foe of the Geraldine in Ireland, and his censor at the English court. Wolsey was now at the height of his power; and Ormonde, by paying court to the great cardinal, sought to influence the administration of affairs in Ireland, and ultimately to supplant Kildare. In this part he had considerable, but not complete, success. Ormonde was at the head of the government twice during the reign of Henry VIII., but on both occasions was constrained to make way for his overbearing competitor. Thrice was the hardy Geraldine summoned to England to vindicate his conduct—twice imprisoned in the Tower—and thrice declared lord deputy. On the last of these occasions his exaltation appeared to have given entire satisfaction. Allying himself to the Irish chiefs by the marriage of two daughters with O'Connor and O'Carroll, respectively styled dynasts of Offaly and Ely O'Carroll, a third native and kinsman, Con O'Neil of Ulster, carried the sword of state at his inauguration. Thus hailed with the joint acclamations of the Irish chieftains and the lords of the Pale, and freed by the downfall of Wolsey from his weightiest enemy at the English court, he gave way to displays of power so wild and excessive, as to lead to a suspicion of his insanity.

A strong and determined party was soon formed to bring his rule to an end. Allen, the lord chancellor; his connection, Piers Butler, who, having resigned the title of Ormonde to Queen Ann Bullen's father, was now earl of Ossory; and others, sent a deputation to London with a heavy catalogue of specific offences, at which the king took fire, and ordered the earl to appear before him in terms so peremptory that he feared to disobey. At this point he seems not to have apprehended the particular fate by which he was overtaken. But that he felt himself in some danger, and apprehended that it would be necessary to resort to arms, was evident, from the quantity of ordnance which he removed from the king's stores to his castle at Maynooth, despite an express mandate to the contrary delivered in the king's name.

He deputed his son Thomas (then about 21 years of age) to govern in his absence, and, repairing to London, was sent to the Tower. After an examination by the king in council, it became evident that something more than his removal from the government was contemplated. Reports to this effect were transmitted to Ireland, which being exaggerated by the Butlers and other enemies of his race, it was soon asserted that he had been beheaded, and that his son Lord Thomas, and all his uncles, had been sentenced to the same fate. Subsequent events lead to the conclusion that rumour in this instance did not exaggerate the designs of the English monarch and his advisers. Surprised and indignant, the Geraldines called upon Lord Thomas to take up arms as his only means of preservation. Vain, fiery, and inexperienced, the youthful deputy inconsiderately adopted the rash counsel of his party, and resolved to defy the tyrant. It is impossible to read the accounts handed down to us of his short and disastrous career, without being touched with sympathy for his sufferings. Bearing in mind the state in which he had been reared, the consequence enjoyed by his father and by his grandfather, and the customary license so long permitted to his family, most readers will probably discover more to pity than condemn in his rebellion.

He had no sooner determined upon rushing into extremes, than he also resolved to proceed in a manner befitting the pride and dignity of his family. There was a wild spirit of chivalry in his course, which fills it with interest. Summoning his guard of 140 men, with their music, and the Geraldine bards, he marched in state to Dublin. The council was sitting at St. Mary's Abbey: he entered amongst them, and advancing to the table, threw down upon it the sword of state, and announced to the astonished lords that he resigned at once his office and his allegiance. "He defied," he said, "the king and his ministers; declared the goods of his subjects forfeited; and was resolved to kill or banish all the English by birth, and to wrest the kingdom of Ireland from Henry and his heirs." In vain did the Archbishop Cromer rise from his seat, and taking the impassioned youth by the hand, implore him, in the most affectionate terms, not to bring ruin on his country and race. A bard in his train struck up a rhapsody on the past glories and still more splendid destiny of the Geraldines, and the heir of all their honours rushed madly to the field.

Once in arms, Lord Thomas committed many outrages, amongst which the murder of Archbishop Allen, as he was seeking safety in flight, was one of the foulest. There is too much reason to suspect that he was a participator in this crime, if not present at its perpetration. After craving aid of Pope Paul III. and the Emperor Charles V. for the conquest of Ireland, which he offered to hold of them for ever, he ravaged with fire and sword the earl of Ossory's district, wasted the suburbs of Dublin, besieged the castle there, and defeated at Clontarf the first forces sent over to reduce him. But this success was not long maintained. While he passed into Connaught, to levy aid amongst the Irish, Skeffington, the lord deputy, compelled the Geraldines to abandon Drogheda. Skeffington was superseded by Lord Leonard Grey, a man of fierce energy, who received a strong reinforcement from the English government. By him Lord Thomas was proclaimed a traitor; and after various attacks,

all advantageous to the constituted authorities, the castle of Maynooth, then accounted, for the abundance of its furniture, one of the richest houses under the crown of England, was besieged. It was powerfully garrisoned, and stood out for fourteen days, when it was betrayed into the hands of the lord deputy by the treachery of Lord Thomas's foster-brother.*

The Geraldine army now dispersed, and its leader was driven from Rathangan, and his other castles, to the woods. Even then he fought gallantly, though day by day some of his principal adherents were taken and executed. At length a compromise was effected: he was admitted to a parley with Lord Grey, and, acknowledging his offence, solicited the king's pardon. Positive assurances of safety and protection were given to him, and extended to his five uncles, by Lord Leo-

* This fellow's name—Christopher Parese—suggests the hope that he was not an Irishman. Taking advantage of some small success gained in a sally,—and which was probably preconcerted,—he made the garrison drunk at night, and then gave the signal to the English, who scaled the walls, and, meeting no resistance, took possession of the place with ease. The spoil was considerable. Parese was not slow to present himself before the lord deputy. A few minor matters having been attended to, —such as the case of two singers, who came and "prostrated themselves, warbling a sweet sonnet, called *dulcis amica*," and whose harmony so won the favour of Chief Justice Aylmer, that at his request they were pardoned,—the deputy next addressed himself to Parese, and told him that the service he had done in saving charge and bloodshed to the English, should be taken into consideration. For this purpose it was desirable first to ascertain what benefits he had been in the habit of receiving in the service of Fitzgerald. Parese, conceiving that his reward was to be measured by his baseness, detailed the advantages he had reaped from a long course of unremitting generosity and affection on the part of his master, and fully unmasked the heartlessness of his treachery. As already stated, he was Lord Thomas's foster-brother: he owed his station and all he possessed to that nobleman's kindness and munificence. He was held, as he now confessed, by his confiding regard, in the first place of trust and honour among his people: "And how, Parese," said the deputy, "couldst thou find it in thy heart to betray so kind a lord?" Parese stood confounded: but he was not long allowed to ponder on his position. "Go," said the lord deputy to the officer in waiting, who was named Boyce—"go, Boyce, see him paid the price of his treachery, and then, without a moment's delay, see his head cut off." Parese had the coolness to observe, "Had I known this, your lordship should not have had the castle so easily." The deputy was silent; but Boyce exclaimed, "Too late!" and the words passed into the proverb, "Too late, says Boyce."

nard; but with a degree of perfidy inexpressibly base, though far from rare amongst the servants of the house of Tudor, the lord deputy transported the whole family in custody to England. There the unfortunate Lord Thomas had the terrible mortification of learning that the unhappy earl, his aged father, had not been beheaded, but, oppressed with grief, had died in the Tower, December 12, 1534. Henry fell upon the prisoners with the ferocity of a tiger thirsting for blood. Not only Lord Thomas, but his five uncles, some of whom are admitted to have taken no part in his revolt, were hurried to Tyburn, where the six were ignominiously executed as traitors, February 2, 1535.*

After Lord Thomas, or rather Earl Thomas, suffered, a sharp inquiry was set on foot to discover his surviving brother, Gerald, then a boy only ten years old, and lying sick of the small-pox at Donore in the county of Kildare. He was in the charge of a tutor, Thomas Leverous, foster-brother to his father, and afterwards bishop of Kildare. According to Lodge ("Peerage of Ireland," vol. i. p. 93,) Leverous lost no time in conveying the child to his sister, the Lady Mary O'Connor of Offaly, where he remained until perfectly recovered of his disease. He was then removed, for better protection, to his aunt Elinor, who resided in her husband's territory of Tyrconnel. With this lady he spent about a year; but large sums being offered for his apprehension, he was sent with his tutor disguised to Scotland. Henry demanded him of the king, and he was hurried into France and Italy. He lived abroad until after the death of Henry VIII., supported by Cardinal Reginald Pole, a kinsman by his mother's side, and also by Cosmo, duke of Florence, who made him master of his horse. Returning to London in the train of some foreign ambassador, he was present at a ball or masque given by King Edward VI.; and being handsome in his person and accom-

* The old earl was buried in the Tower chapel, where his body was found fifty-six years after, in a chest, with this inscription:—

"Here lies the corpes of the L. Gerald Fitz Gerald Earl of Kildare (who deceased the 12th of December in the yere of oure Lord a M.CCCCC.XXX.IIII) on whose sole Jesu have mercy."

plished in his manners, he captivated Mabel, the second daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, Knight of the Garter. By his marriage with her, and the intercession of Cardinal Pole, he was received into Edward's favour, who knighted him in 1552, and restored him to the lordships and manors of Maynooth, Portlester, Moylaugh, Rathangan, Kilkea, &c. Queen Mary renewed his other honours, of earl of Kildare and baron of Offaly, in 1554.

The hot blood of the Kildares was effectually cooled by the summary vengeance of Henry VIII. The recovery of their titles and estates did not rekindle the fiery pride which had long rendered them equally formidable to the English, the Irish, and the sovereigns of both nations. With a slight and transitory exception or two, and the recent case of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, no descendant of that powerful branch of the Geraldines took further part in the tragic action of Irish affairs.

The Desmonds, as well as the other leading barons and Irish chieftains, stood unmoved for a time by these events. The ruling Desmond, though comparatively inactive for years, had rendered himself particularly offensive to his sovereign. Accustomed to the state and forms of independent authority, claiming and exercising the privilege of exempting himself from serving in parliament or entering any of the king's fortified towns, surrounded by a numerous array of vassals and armed retainers, he was solicited by Francis I. to enter into an alliance, offensive and defensive. Although the capture of the French king at Pavia prevented Desmond from acting upon this treaty, it was a principal charge against Kildare, who was lord deputy when it was contracted, that he did not punish the presumption and disloyalty of his kinsman in leaguing with the king's foreign enemies. When the latter Geraldines fell, their fate was doubtless regarded as a warning by the surviving branch in Munster.

Henceforward Leonard Lord Grey appears to have been resisted only by the Butlers, who openly assailed him in arms,

without, however, being held to have levied rebellion. Perhaps some indulgence in excess upon their parts was necessary, by way of natural satisfaction for the overthrow of their old antagonists, the Geraldines. They next appear, rather strangely, amongst the earliest opponents to the government measures for introducing the reformed religion into Ireland,—measures which it will probably surprise the reader, not well informed with the history of that period, to learn, were at first conducted in Ireland without much either of excitement or resistance. As it will be convenient to treat more fully of this important movement at a subsequent stage of its progress, we shall here touch lightly on a concurrent incident or two.

The See of Rome at this period found a champion in O'Neil, the chieftain of Ulster, who mingled the cause of religion with personal ambition. It is said, and perhaps truly, that his devotion was simulated. Be that as it may, he undertook a stately progress to Tara, the old seat of the extinct monarchy of his country; and gave Lord Leonard battle at Bellahoe, on the borders of Meath, where he was defeated with the loss of 400 men. By one of those surprising turns which are frequent in Irish history, we next find this same O'Neil submitting "himself and his nation" to Henry VIII., and accepting the title of Earl of Tyrone. His example was followed in this respect by other dynasts—by Murrogh O'Brien (created earl of Thomond), and Bernard Fitzpatrick (made baron of Upper Ossory), and by Ulick de Burg, already mentioned as the leader routed by the great Kildare at the battle of Knocktow, who became earl of Clanrickarde. In short, while Henry assumed, without reclamation or discontent, the style of king of Ireland, the progress of the Reformation seemed to mark distinctly the commencement of a better era. Even the intractable Desmond was won over; and not only rejected the overtures of France to form a new treaty, but renounced his privilege of exemption from parliamentary duties, and gave up his heir to be educated in England after the courtly fashion of the age.

Measures were now concerted for the government of all these new subjects in Munster and Connaught—provinces formerly divided into shires, and inhabited in a great part by English settlers, but in which the laws of England had been in disuse for two hundred years. In the ordinances of state made by parliament for the regulation of these districts, we find provisions in no respect consonant with the English law. They were meant to induce the gradual reformation of those "who were not so perfectly acquainted with the laws, that they could at once be governed by them;" but they only proved incentives to irritation and discontent. Similar reservations are practised to this day, with the same results. The law of England and Ireland has uniformly been held to be one and the same; but England, by a sort of Irish equity, now pleading the force of temporary circumstances, and now the pressure of some local obstacles, has been always prone to the introduction of grave exceptions, and made the constitution in theory and in practical application essentially different in the two countries. Among these ordinances, one—"that laymen and boys should not be admitted to ecclesiastical preferments"—shows something of the condition of the church at that time; while others,—that manslaughter and robbery be punished by a fine—half to the king, half to the chieftain of the district; but that wilful murder be punished capitally,—indicate something of the state of civil society. The earl of Ormonde and the earl of Desmond were associated as guardians throughout Munster, and declared commissioners, with the archbishop of Cashel, for the execution of these ordinances. Though no attempts were as yet made to introduce any new system of jurisprudence into other quarters of the island, yet a number of commissioners were appointed for each province, who were to exercise the "office of the ancient Brehons," or national judges, to hear and decide occasional controversies, or to refer them to the deputy in council in cases of difficulty. The policy of breaking up the various clans seems now to have been strongly felt, and to have been sharply urged against the anomalous dependencies of the inferior

chieftains, at least, and their retainers. The doctrine, too, of depending only on the king was broached to the great body of the people. Unfortunately, however, to reach the king, they had to resort to his deputy; and in that dignitary, and his various dependents, they generally found more than one strong interest actively at work, to suppress their complaints, and uphold the multiplied injustice against which they cried out.

In looking back to find the disturbing causes of this flattering calm, neither much of toil or discernment is required. The English crown itself proved the destroyer of the advantages it had produced. The house of Tudor broke the feudal power of the peerage completely down in England, and reduced it in Ireland into a state of obedience and respect. But in both countries the Tudors erected a tyranny as cruel and overbearing as ever had existed, and by a sweeping career of intolerable despotism prepared the downfall of royalty in its turn, under the succeeding house of Stuart. Henry's intemperance shook the confidence of all men in royal gratitude, by recalling the efficient agent of these reforms—Lord Leonard Grey,—and visiting him with the traitor doom, imprisonment and death, to which he had been so instrumental in consigning the Fitzgeralds. Sir Anthony St. Leger, the first lord deputy appointed by Edward VI., quickened the relapse into the old disorders. Finding the exchequer empty, he tried to enforce a new scheme of taxation, which, being clearly illegal, met with strenuous opposition from James, ninth earl of Ormonde. The dispute being referred to the king, both Ormonde and St. Leger hastened to prosecute it in London; where the latter, with 18 of his followers, were poisoned—not without strong suspicion of foul play—at Ely House, Holborn.

Sir Edward Bellingham took St. Leger's place, and disgraced a short term of office by an act of base treachery. The O'Moores of Leix, and the O'Connors of Offaly, had been charged with the commission of some depredations, and driven back to their fastnesses by the government troops sent against them. At this moment, it was suggested to the chiefs of both

septs, that they should adopt the precedents set in the cases of O'Neil and O'Brien, and accommodate all differences by taking peerages from the king. The Irishmen, lending a credulous ear to these representations, betook themselves to the English court. But far from receiving the expected honours, they were there perfidiously thrown into gaol as traitors, while writs for the seizure and confiscation of their estates were despatched to Ireland. O'Moore died in prison, bequeathing to his sept the bitter vengeance of a prince betrayed. O'Connor lingered hopelessly in captivity until Mary became queen. Under her reign, the confiscation both of his lands, and those of the O'Moores, was formally carried into effect, contrary to the immemorial usages of Irish law recognised and re-established by her father. The lands, as both the Irish brehons and the English judges had uniformly held, were the estate, not of the chief, but of the sept. The latter remonstrated in terms the most proper, and with arguments which ought to have been irresistible, inasmuch as they were unanswerable. But justice was not to be rendered. An overpowering force was sent into the district; the wretched people were driven forth with the sword; "and the fires of their burning huts having been slaked in the blood of the inhabitants," two new counties were erected in honour of Philip and Mary, called the King's and Queen's Counties: 918,839 acres changed owners on this occasion.

The history of Ireland for a number of years henceforward is principally occupied with two events—the extirpation of the house of Desmond, and the destruction of the O'Neils. Other deeds of violence and blood were frequently perpetrated—but these stand out and overbear the rest by their enormity. The Desmonds fell under the persevering malice of their slow but steady rivals, the Butlers; the O'Neils, by the aggression and faithlessness of the Butlers and various lord deputies. In order to mark distinctly the final triumph of the house of Ormonde over the Geraldines of the South, it is necessary to refer to the biographies of the two families.

James Butler, ninth earl of Ormonde, who was poisoned,

as already mentioned, at Ely House, Holborn, in the year 1546, was succeeded in his titles and possessions by his son Thomas, who thus became the tenth earl. When his father died, this Thomas was only 14 years old. He was educated at the English court, where he and Edward VI. were fellow scholars. That youthful monarch, amongst other proofs of regard, made Ormonde a Knight of the Bath at his coronation. After serving with approved gallantry as a volunteer under the duke of Somerset in an expedition against the Scots; and distinguishing himself by his activity and courage as a lieutenant of horse on the suppression of Wyatt's rebellion; he repaired to Ireland in the year 1554, as the true source of his greatness and the proper theatre of his ambition. The extent of his possessions may be estimated by a glance at the map of Ireland. Along the banks of the Suir, the Nore, and the Shannon; at Carrick, Clonmel, Tybroughney, Rosbercon, Kilkenny, Carlow, Maryborough, Roscrea, and Nenagh, were the principal sites of the castles and fortresses which marked the general outline of his broad domains, styled the Palatinate of Ormonde. Of the powers held both by him and his predecessors, in addition to the customary palatine rights and immunities, an idea is to be gathered from the terms of more than one special commission, quoted in Lodge, which authorized his father to levy and lead men through the counties of Tipperary, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Ormonde, and Desmond; to imprison as he saw fit; to pursue and take rebels into protection, and "so to quiet the country." Still larger were the territories of his rival Desmond. By measuring from the curve of the river Suir at Carrick to Nenagh, near the Shannon, in one direction, and thence sweeping to the town of Maryborough, and descending again by the Nore to Rosbercon, we find how wide was the district of Ormonde. If we proceed from Dungarvan on the Atlantic to Kinsale; and thence crossing to Tralee, we follow the seashore to Limerick, and return from the Shannon to Dungarvan again, we travel the expanse of the palatinate of Desmond. In an angle to the south-west of Desmond lay the country

of the Fitzmaurices, earls of Kerry; and north of Ormonde were spread out the princely estates of the earl of Kildare. When Thomas, tenth earl of Ormonde, left the English court, and took service in Ireland, James, fifteenth earl of Desmond, was closing a career, in the latter part of which he appears to have evinced a sincere desire to live upon good terms with the government, and discharge the duties of the peerage with punctuality and effect. His inheritance was disputed by two sons, Thomas and Gerald, the issue of different wives. A bold contest was raised; but Gerald, to whom the earldom had been left by will and other settlements, so bravely defended his cause, that he at length prevailed, and took his seat in the parliament held at Dublin in January, 1559. It would accordingly be in this assembly that the tenth Ormonde and fifteenth Desmond met for the first time.

Long accounts have been given of the rebellion, which ended so fatally for Desmond; but they are highly coloured, and omit so many important incidents, that the real character of the individual, and the intolerable persecutions to which he was subjected, are not easily discovered in them. A passage or two from the life of this magnate is all we can find room for in support of this opinion. He was first provoked to quarrel with Ormonde by some disputes as to the right of prisage of wines at Youghal and Kinsale, for which both earls held patents; and also as to the true line of boundaries between the two palatinates. Battles, as a matter of course, were fought to settle the litigated questions, which, however they may have carried defeat or victory, never brought conviction. It was in one of these *mêlées* that Desmond, being wounded and taken prisoner, was borne from the field by some of Ormonde's men, who made a litter for the purpose, which they slung across their shoulders. "Where now," asked the victors, "is the great earl of Desmond?"—"In his proper place," retorted the Geraldine, witty as he was wild—"on the backs of the Butlers."

At length Ormonde, having visited England and renewed his favour at court, proposed to refer the dispute to the Lord Deputy Sidney, who, after a deliberate inquiry into the cir-

cumstances, gave judgment for Desmond. This, Ormonde said, was partiality, and appealed to Elizabeth. Her majesty, without taking the trouble to ask any questions, returned the papers, with a letter, in which sharp rebukes and unprincipled suggestions were strangely mingled;—telling the arbitrator plainly to make a difference between tried and false friends—never to let the good services of well-deservers be rewarded with loss; but with such thanks as may encourage others to strive for the same; and warning him that Desmond's deserving deeds were far wide of his promised words—that he was not to be trusted out of sight,—and praying God that the old strange sheep, late returned to the fold, might not wear her woolly garment on her wolfy back. Sidney's manner of dealing with this prejudiced missive was not devoid of manly spirit. He protested to Cecil, that if he served the cruellest tyrant that ever lived, and knew him affected on one side or the other, in a case between party and party, referred to his judgment; he would rather offend that tyrant than his own conscience, by not standing to the judgment which he believed to be God's. As the memorable style of this language plainly showed that the deputy's opinion remained unaltered, the hint he threw out was taken. Other commissioners were joined to outvote him; the former decision was reversed; and Desmond was ordered not only to give up the lands in dispute, but to pay damages to his rival for the time they had been overheld.

That the head of the Geraldines should refuse to yield to so monstrous an abuse of justice, will surprise no reader. He did not, however, fly to take the field against the royal authority—on the contrary, he served it by defeating the neighbouring sept of Macarty, which had been proclaimed as rebels. Meantime, he and Ormonde fought on. At length Sidney marched into Munster, and was shocked by the vestiges of ruin which met him at every step of his progress. Take as an instance his description of the state of Cork. "One of the pleasantest counties," he writes, "ever seen, but miserably waste and uncultivated; the villages and churches burned and ruined; the castles destroyed, and the bones of the murdered

and starved inhabitants scattered about the fields. Irritated by the frequent recurrence of these sights ; irritated also by Desmond's haughty reliance upon the legality of the palatine rights, by which unquestionably they had been produced ; assuming, moreover, that the earl was " a man void of judgment to govern and will to be ruled ;" he determined to seize upon his person, and appoint his brother, John Fitzgerald, whom he knighted for the occasion, to govern the palatinate, while its lawful ruler was detained in custody.

Desmond, thrown into prison in Dublin, continued to repeat proofs of innocence and remonstrances until he constrained the deputy to conduct him to England, and submit his case to Elizabeth. His brother, Sir John, so late set up in his stead, accompanied him on the journey. Other lords and chieftains were led over at the same time—some as witnesses, some as supporters, and some, like himself, as defendants. Many of these were made welcome ; but the Geraldines were refused a hearing, and cast into the Tower, where they pined for two years without trial or judgment. The law and sound policy having been thus wantonly violated, there appears nothing strange in the correspondence with the Pope, which afterwards formed the ground of the heavy persecution carried on against the several members of this family.

To these instances of individual wrong—if we are to convey even a slight idea of the general state of the country—must be added some proof of the arbitrary manner in which the ruling powers now disregarded, at their pleasure, the unquestioned rights of the local parliament. The insufficiency of the revenue of Ireland to maintain the English power in that country, had always been a subject of complaint at court. When Sidney took office, he was obliged to stipulate for an allowance of £20,000 a year from the English exchequer, in aid of his ordinary receipts. Desiring to improve these, and finding that it had been usual with his predecessors to require from the English districts a certain contribution of provisions for the royal garrisons and the governor's household, he conceived the idea of converting this subsidy into a permanent revenue

by exacting a regular assessment from all the inhabitants, without distinction. The court approving of his plan, Sidney issued a proclamation to dissolve such liberties as had at any time claimed an exemption from the charge of purveyance. He next proceeded to impose the new tax, by the mere authority of his council and the queen's prerogative. General and violent discontent was the just and natural consequence of this arbitrary measure. A deputation of lords proceeded to appeal to the queen, but instead of insisting, as they were bound, that there existed no power of taxation but in the grand council of the realm alone, they so dreaded Elizabeth's temper, and the violent character of her government, that they pleaded the poverty of the land, and contented themselves with praying that the impost might be moderated. The queen herself seems to have seen the matter in its true light, exclaiming, "How much I fear, lest it may be too justly said to me, You, yourself, are in fault, who have committed the flock, not to the shepherds, but to wolves." So jealous, however, was she of her prerogative, and so impatient of the slightest remonstrance against her manner of displaying it, that she sent the deputation to the Tower; and only discharged them upon their explaining, with equal humility and untruth, that they had no intention of impeaching her just prerogative, and that they had been undutiful in their mode of proceeding.

But Desmond was not maltreated in his person only—his palatine rights also were unceremoniously invaded. Amongst the establishments introduced during the reign of Henry VIII. were a sort of permanent courts martial, with an extended range of power to try and punish offences, called Presidency Courts. They were three in number—one for Munster, one for Connaught, and one for Ulster. At the head of the Munster court, the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, had placed as president Sir William Drury, an officer who, in an age of severity, had made himself remarkable for harshness while governor of Berwick, on the Scottish border. Without regarding the patent rights and chartered grants which gave Desmond the power to hold his own courts, Drury, says Leland, deter-

mined to extend his authority into Desmond, where the earl maintained, of his own name and race alone, at least 500 gentlemen in his retinue. Desmond at first remonstrated; but finding the president determined to persevere, contented himself with entering a protest against the proceeding,—and that done, assured Drury that he should be received in Kerry with hospitality and respect. At the same time he invited him to his palace at Tralee. On the arrival of Drury, with a train of 120 men-at-arms, a body of Desmond's band, tall, active and vigorous soldiers, turned out to do him and their lord honour. The president, unacquainted with the customs of the district, and led away by the unjustifiable suspicions common to the English stranger, hastily concluded that he had been betrayed, and was to be surrounded and hewn to pieces. Without waiting for parley or assault, he commanded his followers to charge; and the Geraldine troop, confounded by this unexpected violence, dispersed precipitately at the first onset, without returning a single blow. The countess of Desmond, who seems to have felt the indignity with proper spirit, thought it well to assure Drury that the flight of her men was by no means the effect of cowardice, but of astonishment, at being thus greeted while performing a feat of honour; and Drury, probably ashamed of his groundless fears, declared the affair a mistake, and proceeded to execute his office within the liberties of Desmond without further control or opposition upon the part of Desmond, and also without any lawful authority.

Such was the recklessness with which person and property were injured, both by her majesty and her officers in Ireland, when Desmond's family combined to take a course which he long declined to follow. The majority of writers, in relating the events of this period, distort their true character, by announcing them under the sounding title of the rebellion of Desmond. "Ingens rebellibus exemplar," cries one, although the miscalled rebellion was, properly speaking, a civil war, springing out of incompatible, but not, on that account, illegal rights on the side of both the contending parties. Against Desmond, moreover, a persecution was directed, as fierce

and unrelenting as the history of any country exhibits. The facts are shortly these:—Desmond and his brother, Sir John, had been confined for two years in the Tower, and then removed to Dublin, where they were still detained in custody. After a time they effected their escape, and reaching Munster in safety, entered into a confederacy with their friends, July 18, 1574. The contracting parties bound themselves solemnly by oath to spare neither life nor fortune in the earl's defence; upon which, conscious that he had been driven to desperation, the government made terms with him. He renewed his allegiance, and was permitted to resume his former rights and privileges. This fact must not be forgotten: it had been repeatedly felt and expressed in the strongest manner, that no reformation of the disorders of this ravaged province could be effected while the palatine authorities were allowed to continue in existence; and yet this opportunity of resuming them was not turned to account.

Desmond in this respect did not stand alone. Amongst the Anglo-Irish, on whom Elizabeth so often vented her anger, was James Fitzmaurice, of Kerry. Him she imprisoned in the Tower, without judgment or trial, for a length of time. Upon regaining his liberty, he determined to take signal revenge for the dishonour and the wrongs heaped upon him by his sovereign. He went to France, and to Rome, and to Spain; and exposing at the court of each the tyranny of Elizabeth, and the sufferings of his fellow-countrymen, importuned assistance for a war to save his own family, and to uphold the Roman Catholic religion. There seems to have been a warm disposition, but no means whatever, to promote these objects, either at Madrid or at Rome. All that Fitzmaurice could obtain, after a persevering suit, was a handful of men, 80 in number, and positive promises of a further reinforcement and money. With this troop he reached the Shannon. His advisers were two ecclesiastics, by name Allen and Saunders, who met with miserable deaths. The shadow of forthcoming evil soon fell on his path. He had scarcely landed when an English ship hove in sight, and burned the vessels in which he had

arrived. His first appeal was to Desmond; but although the earl seems no longer to have entertained a hope that his rights would be respected, or his estates preserved from the hungry wolves who were panting to possess them, he peremptorily refused to join in the insurrection. Davels, a messenger, sent by the deputy to test his disposition, was received with cordiality, and unhesitating assurances of fidelity. He was urged to prove his loyalty by coming out and fighting his brother and the Spaniards; but he declined the service, protesting, not without reason, that his shot, though good enough to bring down wild ducks, was not suited to the attack of such a fort as Smerwick, garrisoned by old soldiers. Yet this conduct enraged Fitzmaurice, who now betook himself to the earl's brothers, and reproaching them with the timidity of the degenerate head of the race, prevailed upon them to take up arms. Discountenanced by their brother, they were only able to raise a few men. With some of these Sir John Fitzgerald attacked the house in Tralee, at which Davels was residing, and slew him and a companion in their bedroom.

Fitzmaurice was soon shot through the head in a skirmish; but Sir John Fitzgerald, being fully committed to the encounter, sought help and men in every direction, and was able to give the English more than one repulse near Slievelogher. He was defeated in his turn by Sir Nicholas Malby at Kilmallock. The distress to which his proceedings had by this time reduced his brother the earl was extreme. That nobleman had not only abstained from hostilities, but publicly condemned the insurrection of his relatives. He was not the less suspected and maltreated. The murder of Davels brought Sir W. Drury into Munster, at the head of 400 foot and 200 horse. Amongst the noblemen summoned to rendezvous with their troops at Drury's camp was the earl. He attended with a strong company, and having thus placed himself in the power of his enemies, was first shamelessly committed to custody upon suspicion, and then set at liberty. By this intemperance and indecision another insult was added to the many already rankling in his breast. Being again called to attend the de-

puty with his force, he naturally avoided an officer who had proved that he was not to be trusted. He sent his countess forward with an apology, and tendered his son as a hostage. The crisis of his fate was now drawing rapidly near.

When Malby routed Sir John Fitzgerald at Kilmallock, Allen the priest was killed. Some letters found on his person showed that he had been corresponding with Desmond. We are told, that when Malby obtained these documents, he wrote to the earl to attend him in person. Sir W. Pelham, who succeeded Malby, repeated the call; but Desmond still refused to leave the castle of Askeaton, where only he considered himself safe. Ormonde, armed with extraordinary powers, was now declared governor of Munster, and the long war of the rival houses proceeded terribly to its close.

A council was held, at which it was resolved to demand four things from Desmond. 1. That he should deliver up Saunders and the Spaniards; 2. That he should surrender, as a pledge of his good behaviour, either the castle of Askeaton or of Carrigfoile; 3. That he should submit himself to the queen and council in England, or to the deputy and council in Ireland. 4. That he should join Ormonde in the war against his brothers and all traitors. Of these articles, it is enough to note, that by insisting, in the first, upon an act which Desmond had no power to perform, Ormonde and his party laid bare their policy in proposing them. Desmond pleaded anxiously for permission to go to England and submit himself unconditionally to Elizabeth. But Ormonde was peremptory; and as Desmond still objected, a proclamation was issued in which he was proclaimed a traitor. In that document his doom was decided; and it has been remarked that two of the council, Lord Delvin and Lord Gormanstown, refused to sign it. Their reason is plain —at the time he was pronounced a traitor, there was no proof that he had committed treason.

We have now to describe the death struggle; but the details are so horrible, that with the generality of readers even a meagre recapitulation of them is considered an exaggerated picture, and rejected with disgust and disbelief. Whole towns

and villages, as well as detached houses, and even churches, were everywhere laid in ruins. More touching far than any relation which could be furnished here of the ravages perpetrated on both sides, is the description given by the poet Spenser, who soon after became a resident in the country, of the desolation to which fire, famine, and the swords of a savage soldiery reduced the whole province of Munster. Before it is quoted, the concluding act of the tragedy is to be presented.

Successive deputies had prosecuted the enterprise against Desmond with persevering vigour. At length the promised reinforcement from Spain arrived, consisting of 700 men, with arms and ammunition for 5,000 more, and a supply of money. A detachment from this force was placed in Carrigfoile ; which was taken after a stout resistance, and every man either put to the sword or hung. The principal body built a fort ; but being neither supported as they expected by Desmond himself, or the natives, they soon after surrendered as prisoners of war, and were massacred. The officer who executed this butchery was Sir Walter Raleigh, and his friend Spenser the poet is its narrator.

From the first, Desmond seems to have felt that the hand of fate lay heavily upon him—and yet he displayed, in many of the attacks made against him, a spirit and courage which reflected no discredit on the military character of his race. Two of his exploits have been specially commemorated : the capture of the town of Youghal, which he held for five days ; and a battle immediately after, in which he defeated the inveterate enemy of his house, the tenth Ormonde, who was now, like a blood-hound, hunting him to his death lair.

The most harrowing particulars have been preserved of the extremities to which the heads of the beaten party were one by one reduced. James of Desmond, driven by hunger to make a prey of cattle at the head of a numerous train, was taken prisoner, and, though mortally wounded on the occasion, was carried to Cork and executed with circumstances of the cruellest indignity. His brother, Sir John, betrayed to some soldiers serving under Zouch, was killed. They cut off his head and

sent it to Dublin, where it was stuck on one of the castle turrets. The trunk was taken to Cork, and hung by the heels from the north city gate. Saunders, the great incendiary, as he has been called, worn out with fatigue and want, died in a wild retreat, unhoused, unfed, solitary and unnoticed. His body was not found and buried until it had been mangled by birds of prey. The doomed Desmond, who was excluded from a general pardon issued when there were scarcely any persons left to avail themselves of it, made his last public effort to escape from impending fate by addressing the following letter to the triumphant subverter of his house, the earl of Ormonde :—

"My Lord,—Great is my grief when I think how heavily her majesty is bent to disfavour me ; and howbeit I carry the name of an undutiful subject, yet God knoweth that my heart and mind are always most loyally inclined to serve my most loving prince, so it may please her highness to remove her displeasure from me. As I may not condemn myself of disloyalty to her majesty, so I cannot excuse my faults, but must confess I have incurred her majesty's indignation ; yet when the cause and means which were found to make me commit folly shall be known to her highness, I rest in assured hope that her most gracious majesty will think of me as my heart deserveth, as also of those who wrong my heart with undutifulness. From my heart I am sorry that folly, bad counsels, slights or any other things, have made me forget my duty ; and, therefore, am most desirous to get conference with your lordship, to the end I may open and declare to you, how tyraneously I was used ; humbly craving that you will appoint some time and place when and where I may attend your honour, and then I doubt not to make it appear how dutiful a mind I carry ; how faithfully I have, at my own charge, served her majesty before I was proclaimed ; how sorrowful I am for my offences, and how faithfully I am affected ever hereafter to serve her majesty ; and so I commit your lordship to God.

(Subscribed) "Gerald Desmond."

Just, natural, and expressive as was this appeal, it was disregarded, while the writer, chased from one hiding place to another, fled, lurking in disguise amongst the most wretched of his followers, through mountain passes, woods, and morasses. In the autumn he had his retreat in the mountains above Gleneefy; in the winter he kept his Christmas in the wood near Kilmallock. He had but one companion—a poor friar—and his countess, who shared this abject misery, when not engaged in petitioning for the mercy which was always refused. Like deer, says one of the chroniclers, they lay upon their keepings; and so fearful were they, that they would not tarry in one place any long time; but when they dressed their meat, thence would they remove and eat in another place, and from thence to another place to sleep. In the night they watched,—in the forenoons were upon the hills to reconnoitre the country,—in the afternoons they slept.

Chased from the mountains of Limerick into Tipperary, the worn and jaded old man doubled back into Kerry, and hung about the woods near the town of Dingle, in which no garrison had as yet been stationed. In this neighbourhood, deserted, luckless, and defenceless, in the last stage of famine and exhaustion, and after the captain of his gallowglasses had already lost his life in a similar attempt, two horsemen and a few kerns ventured to seize some cattle for his subsistence. The owner, obtaining a few English soldiers from the next garrison, sent one of his men to follow the depredators. After a long pursuit, they came to the opening of the valley of Glanikilty, where they determined to repose for the night; but spying a light at some distance, they followed it, and fell upon a retired and miserable hut. The leader of the party, by name Daniel Kelly, ordered one of the men to advance in silence and reconnoitre. Word was brought that six persons only were inside. Kelly and his party then rushed quickly to the attack; but on entering found that all had fled, except a man of venerable aspect, who was stretched languidly before the fire. Kelly assailed him, and at the first blow almost cut off one of his arms. With another he inflicted a severe wound on the

side of the head: the old man had only time to exclaim—"Spare me—I am the earl of Desmond!" when Kelly* smote his head from his body. The head was carried to Ormonde, who, regarding it as a suitable present for Elizabeth, despatched it to London, where it was impaled on London Bridge. The trunk was privately buried in the chapel of Killanamanagh, near Ardnegragh, in Kerry.

So fell Gerald, sixteenth earl of Desmond, the last of a great race.† According to Lodge, ten years of incessant war were required to destroy him. His lands, which measured 110 miles in a straight line, and comprised 574,628 acres, were declared forfeit, and parcelled out by Elizabeth amongst the hardened soldiers and the needy dependants who had long counselled, and at last effected, his ruin. Let one of these, the author of the "Faery Queene," sketch the country and the people racked by this ten years' work of desolation:—"Notwithstanding the province of Munster was a most plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, yet ere one year and a half they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any heart would rue the same; out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, as if their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions—happy when they could find them; yea, and one another soon after,—insomuch that the very carcases they spared not to scrape out of their graves: and if they found a plot of watercresses and shamrock, there they flocked as to a feast for the time (yet not able to continue there withal), that in a short space there was none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country was suddenly left void of man

* Kelly, an Irishman by birth, had served in the English army. For killing the great earl of Desmond he was rewarded with a pension from government, which he continued to receive for some thirty years. Such, however, was the abhorrence in which he was held in Ireland, that he was obliged to live in London, where, according to the Abbé Mac Geoghan, he was hung for highway robbery.

† Though we say the last, the expression is not strictly correct, as more than one heir actually survived. The family, however, like the title, soon became extinct.

and every living creature." Well after this might it be represented to the queen that her deputy, Lord Grey, tyrannized with such merciless barbarity, "that little now was left her in Ireland to reign over, but ashes and carcases."

Let us not forget that this is the testimony of no common witness. Spenser is one of those authors whom England justly ranks in the first class of her men of genius; and from his description we learn that the only argument by which it would be possible to defend or excuse the extirpation of the Desmonds, does not apply to the case. For little as we can admire the greatness attained by that family, and impossible as it is to vindicate the excesses into which its numerous members ran—it is equally impossible not to abhor the means by which they were exterminated. The event, as a political achievement, was signal, no doubt; but it is plain, from Spenser and others, that no immediate good followed the ruin of the Geraldines, and perhaps we may add with perfect truth, nor was intended either. It might have been made, on the part of the statesmen of Elizabeth, a noble labour of regeneration: as it was, we only see the natural succession of events working a great act of retribution for the wrongs by which the first invaders, ancestors of this once potent earl, more than four hundred years before, had despoiled the ancient sept of Macarty. In the miserable fall of the heirs of those aggressors, the moral of a tardy but just punishment was exhibited. Upon the part of the government, the merit of subverting the oligarchy of which the Desmonds were heads, was forfeited by their abuse of the advantages placed in their hands by that decisive reverse. If the queen and her ministers, running their eyes along the chain of events by which the years 1171 and 1583 were connected together, had resolved to remove the Desmonds as principal authors of the ruined condition of Ireland, and to crush at the same time the wasteful power exercised by them; then indeed we might mingle with our regret for the violence and cruelties displayed upon the occasion, some portion of the credit always due to exalted aims, and the praise with which

even an attempt to carry worthy objects deserves to be considered. But after a careful consideration of all the circumstances, we are not able to perceive in them any signs of sympathy with the past sufferings—any desire of atoning for the constant oppression—nor any the slightest effort for the substantial improvement of the country. The sum of the achievement may be briefed into a single sentence. One great crime was committed, and the power to commit others transmitted to new hands: the culprits were changed, but not their offences. In order to create an opening for a better state of things, it became necessary to reproduce, in the worst forms, every atrocity which the annals of guilt testify that human nature is prone to; and when at last the opening was created, far from taking advantage of it, Elizabeth and her council wilfully neglected the opportunity it afforded them of compensating for the past by providing well for the future. It appears that they saw clearly enough what would be right, and yet persisted in wrong. Lord Mountjoy had written to them, saying, "All the Irish that are now obstinate, are so only out of diffidence to be safe in any forgiveness; and although they are weary of the war, they are unwilling to have it ended, for fear lest upon a peace there should come a severe reformation of their religion. They have the ancient swelling and desire of liberty in their countrymen to work upon: they fear to be rooted out; and generally all over the kingdom they fear a persecution for religion—the least of which alone has been many times sufficient to drive the best and most quiet states into sudden confusion."

But Elizabeth and her ministers, instead of acting upon the spirit of this language, equally sound and humane, did not hesitate to admit that they were animated by very different views—contending, that if they exerted themselves effectually in bringing Ireland to a condition of good government, it would increase in power, consequence and riches; and then, it was argued, the inhabitants would become alienated from England, and cast themselves into the arms of some foreign power, or perhaps erect themselves into an independent and

separate state. So they agreed to connive at the disorders of the Irish, because, while a weak and disordered people they never could detach themselves from England. Lord Bacon added a significant remark:—"You have proved what Ireland barbarous has been—beware of Ireland civilized." Two centuries have passed since the great philosopher made that observation;—and it is as replete with meaning now, as it was at the moment in which it was first spoken.

CHAPTER VIII.

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF THE CONNECTION WITH ENGLAND—*continued.*

THE FAMILY OF O'NEIL.—KINGS OF ULSTER.—THEIR SOVEREIGNTY MAINTAINED FOR CENTURIES, AND REPEATEDLY RECOGNISED BY THE KINGS OF ENGLAND.—CON O'NEIL FIRST EARL OF TYRONE.—SHANE O'NEIL, AND HUGH, THE SECOND EARL.—THE LONG WARS OF THE FAMILY WITH THE ENGLISH CROWN.—THE JUSTICE OF THEIR CLAIMS ADMITTED BY REPEATED CHIEF GOVERNORS.—THEIR EXPATRIATION.—FORFEITURE OF THEIR ESTATES.—CHARACTER OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT UNDER JAMES I.—CONFISCATIONS OF PROPERTY, AND PERSECUTION IN RELIGION.—CHICHESTER, LORD BELFAST.—OLIVER ST. JOHN, LORD GRANDISON.

The daring spirit of the Geraldines of Kildare was broken;—the towering Geraldines of Desmond were extirpated;—a kindred house—Fitzmaurice of Kerry,—having furnished its quota of prisoners to the Tower of London, and victims to the gibbet, had been tamed: of all the great English settlers, the Butlers of Ormonde alone retained their possessions uncurtailed, and their honours unreduced. By leaning in general to the crown, by currying grace at court, and becoming on many a critical occasion efficient instruments for curbing and overthrowing obnoxious cotemporaries—this cautious and steadfast family had now rid itself of all rivals amongst the English interest, and were the unmatched lords of the ascendant in Ireland. Yet the triumph was incomplete,—a potent Irish sept remained unsubdued,—the O'Neil was still the royal chief of Ulster. It will be necessary to turn some years back, in order to present a distinct narrative of his ruin.

More than four hundred years before, De Courcy had been let loose against his forefathers; De Lacy followed De Courcy;

to them in an unbroken line succeeded many a bold and battle-seasoned captain, each striving in turn to wrest from the kings of the North their province, and annihilate their succession and their name. All the monstrous interests erected by the invaders, upon the destruction of the native sovereignties, had withered away, or been trodden into dust. This alone reigned on, eminent for courage and talent, both of which were of a high order, and effective, though wild and irregular.

A long file of records from the earliest period of the invasion attest the rank and possessions of the O'Neils, kings of Ulster. They were included by Henry II. in the five bloods to whom the laws of England were conceded; and despite the grant of their province to De Courcy and others, were repeatedly styled and treated as its kings. Rolls of Henry III. gave them that title on different occasions; and the indenture of homage between Neil O'Neil the elder and Richard II. is expressed on the part of the former with all the dignity of sovereign power: "for himself and for his sons, for his whole nation and all his subjects, he becomes liegeman." When the earl of Kildare died broken-hearted in the Tower, and his son and five brothers had been gibbeted at Tyburn, O'Neil, head of the sept at that day, was married to a Geraldine: he was the first of his family who took an English peerage, being created earl of Tyrone: at the same time his son was made Baron Dungannon. In the grant of these titles an unfortunate irregularity was admitted, which had the most pernicious effects. The first earl of Tyrone had two sons—Shane or John legitimate, and Matthew a bastard: the father, loving the latter most, procured the barony for him, and announced that he should inherit the family estates. This preference consisted with the license of the Brehon laws, which were still in force throughout Ulster: it was not the less an unwise act, involving severe and complicated distress.

O'Neil the father—he was named Con O'Neil—died under restraint. Pursuant to established usage, his brother Turloch became Tanist: this, again, was a proceeding as strictly legal

upon the part of those of his sept who adopted it, as it was strongly opposed to the English order of inheritance. By that, Shane, the eldest legitimate son, was the right heir; but by the disposition of the title and property under the patents of Henry VIII., Matthew, the bastard, would succeed. Turloch, the new chieftain, advanced in years, and never distinguished for enterprise or resolution, was unequal to the maintenance of an authority, disputed by his nephews, and rendered further insecure by the general turbulence of the age. He was soon thrust aside; and though occasionally favoured by the English, is not to be regarded as the head of the family, or the depositary of their power.

In the stirring transactions which now took place, it is difficult beyond measure to arrive at a clear perception of the real character, not of Shane O'Neil alone, but of his successor, Hugh—and to give an intelligible narrative of the feuds, plots, and fights, in which, for years, we find them incessantly engaged. We have reached a period at which the volume of historical evidences grows thick and well filled; but the writers who furnish its contents are so biassed by prejudice, so prone to elaborate generalities, and a style of composition strangely compounded of simplicity and conceit, that a correct apprehension of facts, and the true spirit in which they occurred, is almost unattainable. The old saying of gaining in quantity to lose in quality, might seem to have been expressed to describe with accuracy the body of the information lying before us. That second great cause of Irish ruin, adverted to at the commencement of these chapters,—the hatred of rival creeds, superadded to the hatred of rival races—was now beginning to grow rampant. No man spoke, acted or wrote, but as he conceived would most advance the interest and redound to the credit of the party, national and religious, to which he belonged. Plainly as this envenomed bigotry is distinguishable in the best English authorities, it cannot hide the prominent enormities of the age. Usurpation was an every-day crime, effected on both sides by perfidy, rapine and murder. Few virtues and many vices were common

to each; the standard of morality and intellectual acquirements was low amongst all, while the passions they indulged in were inhumanly fierce. In a state of things full of chicanery, and overloaded with offences, no ordinary powers of discernment and impartiality should be possessed by the judge who would apportion to the different leaders their respective shares of guilt. The generality of readers, hopeless of discharging so arduous a duty fairly, will probably content themselves with laying a heavy censure in the quarter where it appears to have been unquestionably deserved. With the English government rested the responsibility of a consistent line of action, and still more of exacting from the instruments of its authority an example which should vindicate its own policy, and put to shame the misconduct of the smaller and less enlightened forces it sought to reduce to submission and order. But the pained inquirer into the details of Irish history meets with no such relief to lighten the pressure of his labours. He is compelled to own, with reluctance and shame, that in the sixteenth as in the twelfth century, the representatives of the sovereign seem to have had but a single rule of action in Ireland, and that only worked the extirpation of one wrong by the commission of another still greater.

These remarks, so often repeated, are provoked by the constant recurrence of circumstances which it is impossible to pass over without comment. They apply with undiminished force to the case of O'Neil, a man the most extraordinary in every point of view,—extraordinary in his character and his fortunes; in personal courage and intellectual endowments; equally admired in the court of Elizabeth and the rough mountain camp of his forefathers; capable of resisting the most experienced English generals in war, and overcoming them in diplomacy; at times surmounting extreme misfortunes with dazzling splendour; but as suddenly thrown back into difficulty, and at last sinking into a violent and discreditable death. Painted by English writers in the most glaring and discordant colours, the story of his life, as related

by Ware, Cox, Hooper, and Morrison, is a tissue of irreconcileable extravagancies. From their pages, nevertheless, the following account has been digested, principally through a fear of incurring the reproach of partiality, by seeking information from other sources.

There is sometimes to be seen in the picture shops an old caricature of Life and Death, in which a figure is represented, half a grinning skeleton, and half a smirking fop of the last century. The portrait handed down to us of Shane O'Neil seems drawn from the corresponding extremes of barbarous and polite society. His cunning, we are told, was so active and penetrating, as to foil the keenest of Elizabeth's statesmen, and his sensuality so gross as to wallow in the lowest and most enervating excesses; his polished manners and graceful wit struck the queen and her deputies with admiration; his cruelties shocked even their dull sensibilities; his prudence was considerable, and his intemperance excessive; his courage and talents in the field eminently commendable, and the defeats he sustained inexplicably disgraceful. There is not much of pleasure or confidence to be felt in the writers who could lay claim as a real character to so unnatural a compound of all extremes: we are bound nevertheless to proceed with his story.

The early life of Shane O'Neil was peculiarly unpropitious: he may be said to have been inured to wrongs from his cradle. Deprived by his father's preference for his natural son, of the few softening and improving influences which the wild home of so troubled a potentate could have fostered, he saw himself excluded from his inheritance by the patents of Henry VIII. at the very age when he was least likely to endure without resentment so heavy an injustice. After some years of impatient contention, we find his father, Con, first earl of Tyrone, placed by him under restraint and dying in confinement, and the illegitimate heir, Lord Dungannon, killed in a local feud of which Shane was the leader.

Sidney, the lord justice, hearing of these lawless events, marched to Dundalk, and called upon Shane to come and

account for his conduct. When the summons arrived, the rising chieftain was holding a feast to celebrate the christening of his child; and with a frank dexterity, highly praised by politicians, he begged the lord justice rather to visit him and to stand gossip at the ceremony, after which he might receive whatever submission the queen's service demanded. Sidney accepted the invitation—was generously entertained according to the rude fashion of the age and locality; and after becoming sponsor for the child, held a formal conference with O'Neil upon the subject of the convulsions which the province had so long been fated to endure.

Explicit particulars of all that passed upon this occasion have been preserved, and they leave us no reason to doubt that O'Neil had been grievously used, and that Sidney must have felt the hardship of his case. The points raised were these:—First, that the late Lord Dungannon was the son of a blacksmith's wife, and born after the marriage of which Shane O'Neil was the eldest son; secondly, that the late earl, when he surrendered his territories to Henry VIII., had only a life estate in them, and therefore could not disinherit the lawful heir; thirdly, that the king's letters patent were illegal, according to English law, as no inquisition had been held before they were issued; and fourthly, that Shane having been duly elected tanist according to the Brehon laws and established custom of his sept, and the Brehon code having always been recognised by the English crown and courts of justice as the sole laws in force throughout the Irish districts, Shane O'Neil had only exercised his unquestionable rights in assuming the rank he enjoyed, and in keeping under due subjection the northern chieftains, whose indisputable superior he was by the force of immemorial custom and prescription. Sidney's reply is worthy of the most attentive consideration. By the advice of the council, he assured O'Neil that the queen would do whatever should appear just; and as a parting advice, he earnestly recommended peace and order. It is admitted on all sides, that while Sidney continued in office, O'Neil's conduct was unexceptionable.

Time passed—nothing was done by the English government, —and O'Neil, left to all the disadvantages of his equivocal position, is found in arms against the O'Donnells. This was an old feud: on its last outbreak O'Neil had sustained a humiliating repulse, and now took a deep revenge. Making prisoners of O'Donnell and his family, he admitted that chief to ransom, while his wife was retained to become the victor's mistress. Success in one expedition led to fresh enterprises, until O'Neil's incursions into the Pale drew down the anger of Sussex, the lord deputy. But O'Neil's resentment was to the full as strong. The representative of the sovereign complained that his authority was outraged by the violence of the northern chieftain; and the chieftain retorted, that the sovereign, by withholding her recognition of obvious rights, was aggravating the force of injuries which had been acknowledged to be galling, and provoking his defiance of her power, and his hatred of her institutions. Still neither Sussex nor O'Neil were disposed to push the quarrel to extremities. This deputy, like his predecessor, Sidney, promised justice and advised peace; while O'Neil, cheerfully assenting to a proposal that he should repair to Dublin, and abide by the result of a parliamentary inquiry and decision upon the merits of his claims, and the validity of the patents granted to his father, presented himself at the lord deputy's court, made his submission in form, and was honourably entertained.

But if the head of the government was well inclined to see these differences settled by a rational appeal to the proper civil tribunal, his underlings were resolved upon a very different course. O'Neil had scarcely arrived in Dublin, when he was informed that a plot had been formed to seize and imprison him. With the example of his kinsman, the late earl of Kildare, before him, he quickly and prudently decided that if he was to appear before Elizabeth, it should be as a free prince, and under independent circumstances. Selecting therefore from his followers a company of his tallest gallowglasses, he set sail for England, and proceeded to render homage to

the queen at their head. Camden the historian describes the applause with which the Irish chieftain was cheered along the streets, and the pleasure with which Elizabeth received the well-turned compliments he paid to her person and her authority. It is clear, upon the face of all the accounts, that the queen and court were taken by surprise. They do not appear to have been at all prepared for the polished manners of the Irish chief, or for the ability with which he explained, and the knowledge with which he supported, his case. The consequence was, that having proved himself by the English, as well as by the Irish laws, not a simple feudal baron, but a territorial prince, and having shown himself a fair courtier, he was dismissed with flattering courtesies, an assurance that his claims were just and should be duly admitted, and a present of £2,000.

The warmth of O'Neil's gratitude was boundless. Impatient of an opportunity to prove the sincerity of his allegiance, he resolved to reduce the Scotch hordes from the Hebrides—long his best and most intimate allies in plundering the English settlements, and keeping the North in commotion. He subdued this marauding force, and was warmly thanked by the queen. Still he received no grant or confirmation of his property or rights. Two lord deputies and the queen herself had successively admitted his pretensions, and promised to ratify them. But even now that he had turned his former friends into implacable foes, he was left with no better guarantee than fair speeches, as of old. Thus lay the facts as between O'Neil and the government; but very different appears to have been the view taken of them by the party called "the queen's servants in Ireland." To them O'Neil was a marked man, to be run down by any means. Unable to impugn his acts, they ascribed motives and intentions to him, which being invented, it was easy to make of any colour. It was gravely asserted that O'Neil had conquered the Scots, not to give quiet to the queen's dominions, but to exercise and train his army previous to a revolt. Letters and messages without number, swelling with vague suspicions and threatening unexplained dangers, were despatched to London, until at last, as

if worn out with importunities, Elizabeth hastily exclaimed—"That if O'Neil should revolt, it would be the better for her servants, as there would then be estates enough for them all."

There are writers who argue that such language falling from the queen's lips operated on her ministers as an incentive to force an insurrection. Without insisting upon that construction, we may fairly remark that the immediate proceedings of the local government wore a very suspicious appearance. Sussex had ceased to rule, and Sir H. Sidney occupied his post, when it was determined to establish an English garrison at Derry. This was an irritating act of aggression. It was illegal, moreover, if O'Neil's allegiance, as he upon the force of repeated treaties contended, was not that of an ordinary baron, but partook of the independence enjoyed by feudal palatinates. Colonel Randolph, commander of the garrison, soon made his actions tell the spirit in which he had been sent into Ulster. Without waiting to be attacked, and without being furnished with the old excuse, in the shape of depredations committed by the Irish, he sallied from Derry, and charged O'Neil, while marching in that direction with his troops. The Irish suffered an easy defeat, but killed Randolph; and O'Neil, with a degree of prudence, in all probability unexpected by his adversaries, instead of prosecuting hostilities, complained to the lord deputy of the treatment to which he was exposed, and solicited an interview at Dundalk. Before it took place, the fort at Derry blew up by accident, and the place being considered untenable after that disaster, the cavalry resolved to cut their way to Dublin, whilst the infantry escaped by sea. The temptation to pursue the flying English proved irresistible. At the same moment a notion was spread abroad that the destruction of the fort was a judgment of Heaven upon the invaders, and the retreat of the garrison an omen of the fate that hung over their cause. O'Neil was soon in arms, and ran through a series of vigorous but unsuccessful efforts to establish his independence. He took Armagh, and burned the cathedral. Rushing through Fermanagh with terrible impetuosity, he ejected the Mac

Guires, who had denied their subjection to his authority, and tried to carry Dundalk, but was beaten back.

Nor were these the only means by which he sought to bring victory to his standard. His envoys penetrated through Connaught and Munster, and travelled to Rome and Madrid. The native chiefs, the earl of Desmond, the Pope, and the king of Spain, were exhorted and importuned to aid him in saving his own rights and the Catholic Church in Ireland. But in no quarter was succour afforded. The unfortunate Desmond, anxious to testify his loyalty to the government, which was bent upon his ruin, refused to co-operate; while still more fatally for his hopes, many of the neighbouring septs, including several of his own tributaries, either jealous of his sway or won over by the diplomatic promises of the lord deputy, rose to molest him. For awhile he sustained a fast sinking cause against all odds with gallant energy. But at last, most of his followers having fallen, and every resource having failed, he was constrained to admit that further resistance would be vain. In this extremity he was only prevented from surrendering to the lord deputy by the remonstrance of his secretary, who, reminding him of the death of his kinsman, the earl of Kildare, and O'Moore of Leix, in the Tower, advised him rather to seek refuge amongst the Scotch from the Hebrides, than trust to the mercy of the English. Upon this advice he acted, and was soon murdered. It is painful to add, that the crime was procured by the government in Dublin. An English officer, named Piers, dishonoured his profession by undertaking a mission to the Scotch; and reminding them of the manner in which O'Neil, once their ally, had turned against them, to prove the sincerity of his allegiance to Elizabeth, prevailed upon them to take a deadly revenge upon the forlorn chieftain whom they had welcomed to their encampment as a guest. O'Neil and his little train of fugitives were provoked into a quarrel at a drinking feast, and slain; whilst the English, as if to leave no doubt of their participation in the crime, rewarded Piers with 1,000 marks, as the price of his villany.

But the death of Shane O'Neil neither led to the direct pa-

cification of Ulster, nor sufficed to rid the government of a potent adversary in his family. His head, carried to Dublin by Captain Piers, was ignominiously exposed on the top of a pole; but ere long we find another of his name tracking the same career, nothing deterred by the fate to which it led. This was Hugh O'Neil, eldest son of Matthew, the illegitimate Lord Dungannon, and grandson of Con, the first earl, who fully earned the addition by which he is generally described as being the greatest as well as the last insurgent against the dominion of England in the North of Ireland.

The accounts preserved of the person and the principal events in the life of Hugh, second earl of Tyrone, are copious and minute. Morison, who knew him, says that he was mean in stature, but strong in body, and well fitted to the vicissitudes of a military life, being able to endure much labour, watching, and hard fare. At once active and industrious, he was valiant and affable, and was endowed with a capacity for the management of great affairs, and a wit highly dissembling, subtle, and profound. An English education, and constant intercourse with eminent persons, had assisted him in uniting to a temper naturally insinuating the polish of refined manners. Amongst his own people he could throw off the courtier with facility, and accommodate himself aptly to the wild fashions of the Irish chieftain. Having entered the English army in his youth, he served in the war against Desmond, and signalized himself while captain of a troop of horse by his industry and courage. In the year 1587 he petitioned the parliament sitting in Dublin to be admitted to the titles and estates annexed to the earldom of Tyrone, by virtue of the grant to his grandfather Con, by Henry VIII., which had been renewed to his father and his heirs. Sir J. Perrot readily yielded the title, but referred him for the inheritance to the queen's pleasure. By still pressing his suit, and offering to secure a large revenue to the crown, he was permitted to visit London, and present to the queen some warm letters of recommendation. His success with Elizabeth was triumphant. He spoke, as we are told, the views and sentiments of the most enlightened court

politicians, and obtained a patent, under the Great Seal of England, both of the earldom and the inheritance of Tyrone. No rent was reserved to the crown, but 240 acres near the Blackwater were to be ceded for the erection of a fort; and the sons, both of Shane and Turloch O'Neil, were to be provided for. Returning to Ireland with exalted ideas of his power and consequence, the new lord found little difficulty in persuading Turloch O'Neil, the real chieftain, who still survived in a weak old age, to resign in his favour.

Well has it been observed, by more than one writer, that in Ireland the preservation of a man's loyalty without suspicion seldom rested upon himself;—of this truth, Tyrone now received a sharp proof. The lord deputy, Sir J. Perrot, had warmly recommended his case to Elizabeth; but now that the case had been triumphantly carried, Sir John took offence that he had not been consulted or called on to settle the details. O'Neil thus took possession of his rank and property under the disfavour of the local government, which soon found occasion to censure and complain. The surrounding chieftains, finding him honoured by the queen, and secured by law in the possession of the estates of his ancient race, paid him the respect due to the representative of such a family, and the possessor of so much property. When this was observed, it was said that he was seeking to popularize himself, and to set himself at their head as the independent prince of Ulster. A standing force being held necessary to preserve the peace of the province and awe the disaffected, he had undertaken to keep six companies constantly afoot. The troops were equipped and drilled, and thereupon the government was warned that he was training the inhabitants of his district to military exercises, preparatory to a general revolt. He visited the Scotch from the Hebrides, so long settlers in that neighbourhood, and it was immediately asserted that he had formed an alliance with them against the English. A mansion-house being considered a proof of the adoption of English habits and institutions, and an earnest of loyalty to the crown, Tyrone built one, and procured a quantity of lead to cover his battlements and cisterns.

The mansion was pronounced an intended fortress against the English; and the lead, material for bullets to shoot them.

This pernicious gossip was poured in a running stream into the lord deputy's ears by the designing courtiers, who could not brook the approaching establishment of an Irishman "in English order and civility," until it led to disgraceful results. If Tyrone, it was argued, really harboured the designs attributed to him, the policy of the English government would lie in being prepared to set up a rival to him in one of the heirs of his immediate predecessor, the murdered Shane. But in order to give effect to this scheme, it was necessary to gain possession of Shane's sons. They were residing with one of the local chieftains, Red Hugh of Tyrconnel, a youth suspected of disloyalty, being of ancient lineage and large possessions. An English ship, disguised as a Spanish merchantman, was sent to the coast of Tyrconnel, under the pretence of selling wine. Invitations to come and taste the wines having been accepted by the unsuspecting chief, and his guests, the O'Neils, the anchor was weighed, and the party carried off to Dublin, where they were thrown into prison.

This offence was followed by others of a still more outrageous nature. The abduction of the Tyrconnel chieftain concluded the administration of Sir John Perrot. He was succeeded by Sir William Fitzwilliam, a man whose rapacity far exceeded the daring lust for plunder which gives so indecent a character to the reign of Elizabeth. Some vessels belonging to the Spanish Armada had been wrecked on the Irish coast. They were said to be laden with money to pay the invading army, and it was reported that several chieftains had possessed themselves of large portions of the treasure. Upon no stronger evidence than common rumour, Fitzwilliam seized upon Sir Owen Mac Toole and Sir John Dogherty, gentlemen conspicuous for their attachment to the English interest, and confined them in prison. In Monaghan, Macmahon, chief of that district, had surrendered his lands to the crown, and taken an English grant of them. When he died, his son applied to be admitted heir under the patent; but his right was withheld

because he refused to pay a fine of 600 cows by way of bribe to the local authorities. The deputy, taking advantage of this proof of disaffection, marched upon the spot and arrested the chieftain. Having thus obtained possession of his person, he formed a court martial of common soldiers, and put Macmahon upon his trial for high treason,—the particular charge being that he had employed a military force two years before in collecting his rents. The unfortunate chieftain was soon found guilty, and led to immediate execution. The guilt of high treason involving the forfeiture of the sufferer's lands, they were appropriately divided between the officers who had destroyed him—Fitzwilliam and Sir Henry Bagnal.

A thousand Spaniards belonging to the Armada were cast by a storm upon the territory of O'Rorke, the chieftain of Breffny, and received from him the succour which, amongst a people honouring hospitality as one of the first of virtues, it would have been considered the meanest of vices to deny. They re-embarked; the ship foundered, and in sight of the Irish shore every being on board perished. O'Rorke's conduct having been reported to the government, he was driven by a revengeful army into Scotland, where he was seized by order of the king, and delivered over to Elizabeth, who executed him as a traitor in London.

In the midst of all this reckless tyranny, Tyrone was informed that he too had been denounced as one who had been in communication with the Spaniards. He detected the informer, and put him to death. The government called him to account for this act of presumption, as they termed it; but he showed them that he had not exceeded the powers conferred upon him by the military commission he held—and they withdrew that authority.

The arrival of another lord deputy inspired Tyrone with a fresh hope of adjusting his differences with the government upon reasonable terms. Hastening to Dublin, he laid his case before Sir John Russell, and had the mortification to learn, that as soon as his arrival became known, a motion for seizing upon his person had been debated at the council board, and

only negatived by a small majority. An object either of cupidity or suspicion to almost every person around him, he became alarmed for his safety, and resolved to fly to England. He reached London, and was there put under arrest upon a charge of having left Ireland without a license from the lord deputy. But upon submitting himself promptly and frankly to the queen's pleasure, he was set at liberty, and obtained an audience with Elizabeth, which ended in a satisfactory accommodation of the leading points in dispute. This fact must be regarded as strong evidence of a conviction in the highest quarters that the unfortunate chieftain was more sinned against than sinning. The earl of Ormonde and Sir Christopher Hatton became sureties for his observance of the agreement now entered into. As the leading terms are considered to have originated with Tyrone, we are enabled to form our own judgment of the sincerity of his professions, and his capacity for dealing efficiently with the difficult questions presented by his case at this crisis. The articles of his submission were full, precise, and freely subscribed. In them he made one stipulation, which it will be proper to specify, because it shows how perfectly he understood his own position, and how clearly he saw the way to preserve the peace of Ulster permanently. He insisted that Turloch O'Neil and the other chieftains of the North should come in and be parties to the indentures which he was willing to sign. The wisdom of this provision is self-evident: it was most important to the English government, and indispensably necessary to Tyrone's security amongst his equals. Having already lost character, and provoked no light feelings of hatred amongst the haughty leaders of his fellow-countrymen by his attachment to the queen, and his preference of English laws and habits, he pointed out with equal truth and force, that he never should be forgiven by them for the destruction of their ancient privileges and irregular practices, unless they should be held in the same bonds by which he was content to be restrained. It was accordingly agreed that the proposed arrangement should include all the outstanding chieftains.

As it is impossible to suppose that the soundness of this condition was not felt by the Irish government, we can only account for the absence of all effort to give it effect by assuming that there existed no real wish for any change that did not embrace Tyrone's ruin, and the division of his inheritance amongst the buccaneer troops whose eyes had long been greedily fixed upon his broad acres as their certain prey. The promptitude with which the earl was required to sign the indentures, and the total disregard of his just remark, that it would be equally impolitic and unfair were he to act alone, are not to be misunderstood as political proceedings.

The results which followed will excite no surprise, and challenge but little blame. The jealous suspicions and restless despotism of the government, together with the repeated proofs afforded, that no submission however humble, no bribe however large, and no treaty however formal, gave security for liberty or life, had spread over the whole country a spirit of hatred and revenge which was perfectly irrepressible. All eyes were raised to Tyrone,* as to the proper leader of an inevitable civil war. For a while he appears to have resisted the vows, flattery, menaces and reproaches of his fellow-countrymen; but one of the last acts of violence committed upon the chieftains in his neighbourhood having been accompanied with a significant remark from the lord deputy, that Tyrone's turn would come next; and positive information having reached him about the same time that extraordinary reinforcements, commanded by a general of distinguished ability, had been ordered over to the

* All the English writers of this period, and not a few of those of our own day, almost invariably couple with the name of Tyrone some strong epithet expressive of his hypocrisy, artfulness, and profound dissimulation. In the case of the O'Neils, as in that of the Desmonds, constant reference is made to the double part acted by the sufferers. Without insisting that there is no foundation for such representations, we may be permitted to remark upon the double game played against these unfortunate men, of whom it may with strict truth be said that they never knew on which side safety lay. We must also point out, as a thing somewhat strange, that the plundering character of the English invasion, and its consequences, down to the period here treated of, though plain in the extreme to all steady and dispassionate observers, seems never to have been thought of by the parties alluded to.

army serving in Ireland, he no longer hesitated to commence the hostilities on which both parties were determined.

As it forms no part of the plan of this work to describe the military incidents of the civil war which now began to rage, we shall merely observe, that it proved every way unworthy of the English army engaged in it, and of the statesmen who advised it. Three generals—Sir John Norris, an officer of the highest character; Lord Burg; and Essex, the brave but unfortunate favourite of Elizabeth—were foiled and defeated,* in succession, by Tyrone and his undisciplined Irish. Sir Conyers Clifford, after having been driven to a calamitous retreat in Leinster, fell into an ambuscade in Connaught, and was slain. Lord Burg, Sir Warham St. Leger, and Sir T. Norris, were routed and killed. Tyrone obtained a signal victory over Bagnal at Blackwater Fort; 1,500 soldiers and 13 officers, Bagnal included, being slain on the English side, while the Irish lost only 200 killed, and had but 600 wounded. They reckoned 34 ensigns taken, with all the royal artillery, ammunition and provisions. The royal army fled for shelter to Armagh, but was soon obliged to evacuate that town. This success was the signal for a general confederacy under the banners of Tyrone. The O'Moores in Leinster, the Burkes of Connaught, Fitz-

* Melancholy is the picture drawn of the consequences produced by the manner, at once mean, passionate and inconsistent, in which Irish affairs were managed during the reign of Elizabeth. The craft at the council board, the spies set upon every man in office, the quick ear lent to reports of disaffection, and suggestions of spoliation, the hardened character of the public men, and the general rage for predatory adventure, begot a state of suspicion, faithlessness, and capricious cruelty in all the relations of government, which combined to make this an age of great crimes. Here, however, as in most cases of enormity, we are struck by the heavy examples of avenging power which the predominant policy entailed upon its chief actors. Sir John Perrot, who left Ireland with the emphatic declaration that he could govern the queen's Irish subjects, but that no power could control her English servants in Ireland—Sir John Perrot, upon being removed from his government, was committed to the Tower, where he died. Sir John Norris expired, broken-hearted, by the slur thrown upon his character as an officer by the queen's disapprobation of his conduct. Sir R. Bingham was put under arrest, and tried by a court-martial. Essex's fate is well known. If to these instances of heavy personal suffering we add the losses sustained in the deaths of so many generals, the ultimate success of the war against Tyrone must be held to have been dearly purchased by the English party.

maurice of Lixnaw, in Kerry, and his kindred, the Geraldines, distinguished by the popular titles of the Knight of the Valley, the Knight of Glin, and the White Knight, united in the cause of Irish independence. Elizabeth at this crisis displayed her characteristic vigour. Receiving intelligence from the king of Scots, that Philip of Spain, with whom Tyrone was in correspondence, had allotted 12,000 troops for a descent upon Ireland, she sent over the earl of Essex, esteemed the most gallant soldier of the age, and 20,000 men to maintain her dominion in that country.

Two passages in the history of this war now press for our consideration, and they are more instructive in their nature than a hundred battles. If we desired further evidence to prove that hostilities on the part of Tyrone, and men of his class, were the work of despair, we should be content to rely upon the conferences which took place between him and Sir John Norris before the defeat of Bagnal; and between him and the earl of Essex after Norris had been superseded. Norris and Essex were rivals, but they were both men of ability and honourable character, and they arrived at the same conclusion, after seeing Tyrone, and hearing him explain his case. Various attempts appear to have been resorted to for the purpose of preventing Norris from seeing the earl; but though some letters were intercepted and suppressed, others reached their address, and the Irish chiefs, with Tyrone at their head, gained an opportunity of stating, in natural but impressive terms, the grievances by which they were oppressed, and the arts by which they had been excited to revolt. It is a miserable fact, that after hearing these men, Norris was so convinced of the injustice by which they had been roused to arms, that he directed his most zealous energies not to conquer but to establish an equitable peace with them. Essex scouted this conduct as a contemptible dereliction of duty;—let us see how he acted when, having succeeded to Sir John's place, and being at the head of a much more efficient force, he came himself to communicate with these much reviled rebels.

The two armies were in sight, and the generals afield, when

Tyrone proposed that he should be heard before they came to blows. Essex consented, and a private interview took place: another followed immediately after, which, being public, has been fully described. A river separated the English and Irish: Essex stood aloof on the acclivity of one bank, while Tyrone, advancing from the other, plunged his horse up to the saddle girths in the stream, and, after swimming across, cantered up to the lord deputy, and paid his respects with a frank and courteous bearing that won the applause of both armies. Leading the conversation gradually into a familiar and confidential strain, he pointed out how necessarily the disturbed condition of Ireland proceeded from the practices of the government; showed how different must be the case if a fair system could be introduced, and closed his observations with a refined personality, by asking if Ireland, groaning under the crimes and follies committed by former governors, was the proper field for engaging the talents of a nobleman so eminently gifted and universally admired as Essex, while England, his native country, was already big with mighty changes? In the end, Essex, like Norris, finding himself unable to answer the facts or the arguments of his opponent, granted a six weeks' truce, and took a respectful leave. Tyrone's overtures were to be transmitted to the queen: they proposed a general amnesty; the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion; the restoration of all forfeited lands; and a discontinuance of the growing practice of governing Ireland exclusively by Englishmen.

The temper of Elizabeth, long irritated by the troubles of Ireland, now fermented into fury. Perrot and Norris had been degraded one after the other, because they found it impossible to carry her peremptory commands into execution—and, again, the choicest of her favourites and most accomplished of her generals, bending to the invincible conviction entertained by his predecessors, announced that the peace of Ireland was to be secured, not by military devastation, but by conceding the legitimate demands of her injured subjects. We cannot follow here the indignant anger with which the masculine tyrant visited her refractory general, nor his mad

resentment of the treatment to which he was subjected; but it is impossible not to feel how cogent is the justification made out by these reiterated declarations solemnly offered by different lord deputies to the justice of the cause of Tyrone and his party.

On the expiration of the truce, hostilities were recommenced, and again respited for a month. Essex having hurried to England, the earl of Ormonde was made lord lieutenant of the army, in conjunction with Sir George Carew; while Blount, Lord Mountjoy, took the command, first of the civil, and ultimately of both civil and military affairs of the kingdom. A detached party of the insurgents made Ormonde a prisoner, but at that point the tide of success turned rapidly from their arms. Henceforward the tactics of the English generals were more successful—but they were also characterized by a barbarous severity which no language can sufficiently stigmatize. In every direction the country was pillaged and laid waste, the cultivation of the land was no where tolerated; the husbandman who attempted to plough his field or sow seed was cut down with the sword—and universal famine was made to overcome those whom the cruelties of ordinary war could not subdue. The national industry having been thus inhumanly brought to a state of general paralysis, a new debased coin was issued, by which the distress of all ranks was completed, and both the victors and the vanquished were equally cheated.

By these various means, Tyrone and the northern chieftains were driven from their entrenchments to the woods and mountain fastnesses, and gradually reduced within the narrowest bounds. Pressed on all sides, harassed by continual surprises, and having lost the charm of invincibility which once surrounded his name with dazzling lustre, Tyrone suffered from the operation of other acts, by which the number of his followers and the extent of his influence were still further diminished. Promises of pardon, protection, and promotion were liberally held out by the English commanders, while crowds of deserters were welcomed with

grants of money, land, and places. But although the advantages achieved by Mountjoy were in many respects decisive, and Tyrone, kept in perpetual alarm, was beaten in repeated skirmishes, his courage was not damped, and his power, though checked, was far from broken down.

Munster now became the principal seat of war. In that province Sir George Carew, as lord president, was making his office terrible by excesses even more fierce and cruel than those committed by Mountjoy, and by some other practices still more unsoldierlike. We shall condense a short account of these from Leland. Amongst the strokes of policy most commonly resorted to by the government at this period, were those of weakening the power of a great chieftain by buying over his smaller tributaries, and wherever one chief grew pre-eminently powerful, setting up a rival to pull him down. At the head of Tyrone's adherents in Munster was James Fitzgerald, nicknamed the Sugaun Earl of Desmond. It has been already stated, that James, the fifteenth earl of Desmond, set aside his eldest son, and diverted the inheritance of his titles and estates to Gerald, a second son by another wife. This Gerald was the unfortunate person whose undignified fall and death were related in the last chapter. The Sugaun Earl was the grandson of the rejected elder son, to whom Gerald had been preferred; and when the latter was killed, the Sugaun assumed the title of earl of Desmond. As it was of the utmost importance to prevent a family, once so formidable, from again assuming a high position, Carew employed a former servant of Sir J. Norris, named Nugent, who by desertion and treason had forfeited his life, to assassinate the Sugaun Earl's brother, while he set an unprincipled native, Dermod O'Connor, to entrap the earl himself with false papers. The bribe in the latter case was £1,000. Nugent failed while taking aim at his intended victim, and being seized in the act, confessed this plot before he was hung. The Sugaun Earl was captured, but made his escape before he could be delivered to the lord president.

These villanous schemes having both proved abortive, a new expedient was resorted to. Earl Gerald had left a son,

who, upon being delivered up to Elizabeth, was confined in the Tower. There he was liberally educated, as the earl of Warwick and others had formerly been, and like them, was treated with the courtesy due to a person of eminent rank and princely expectations. It was now conceived that the presence of this captive youth in Ireland would create a diversion, and draw off the ancient followers of his house from the train of the pretender. He was accordingly brought before Elizabeth, saluted as the earl of Desmond, and sent over to Munster under the charge of trusty keepers. A patent for his restoration to the honours of his family was at the same time forwarded to the lord president, with directions either to deliver or retain it as his own discretion in the present exigency of affairs and the young gentleman's services should invite.

The fortune of this experiment was no better than its morality. When the prison-bred heir of a long line of potent ancestors arrived with his keepers at one of the old seats of the family in the town of Kilmallock, he was received with the most boisterous acclamations of joy. The streets, windows, and even the roofs of the houses were filled with exulting crowds, all pressing to behold the son of an illustrious but unfortunate father—the one green slip from a ruined stock, which had ruled over them for ages, and had been cherished with habitual affection and reverence. A strong guard of soldiers could scarcely obtain a passage for him, or extricate him from the rough but hearty embraces of the crowd. The next day was Sunday; and as the young Fitzgerald proceeded to attend divine service, the same concourse swarmed about him—the same loud salutations rent the air; but when, instead of moving to the place of Roman Catholic worship, he turned his steps to the Reformed Church, vehement and pathetic were the deprecations uttered against his abandonment of the worship to which his forefathers had knelt. They thundered in his ears the disgrace, danger, and impiety of his conduct—of course, in vain. He performed his devotions, but when he came forth again the scene was changed; the crowds had dispersed; and he passed to his home un-

honoured and unattended. Having thus lost his popularity, the government soon felt that the half-made lord was a useless incumbrance. He was therefore escorted back to England, and soon after died in obscurity.

The rest of the Sugaun Earl's life is a counterpart of the story of his relative, whose title and property he vainly sought to acquire—inheriting only his fate. His retainers beaten off, he was driven into marshy vales and mountain hollows, while enmity and treachery dogged his fallen fortunes from hut to hut, and from den to den. After running the gauntlet of numberless romantic escapes, and leading the life of a hunted beast, his relative Fitzgerald, the White Knight, undertook to give a good account of him. Through all his misery one faithful follower clung to him—a harper, whose name was Dermod O'Doogan. He was tracked to this man's cabin, and surprised in the act of snatching a hasty meal, and so nearly caught, that he had not time to snatch up his mantle. In a few days after, the White Knight ascertained that he was lurking in a cavern on the mountain of Slieve Gort, from which, upon being summoned, he issued boldly—confident, it is said, that the people would turn against his pursuer, and not permit him to be arrested. In this idea, however, he was mistaken. The White Knight secured him in Shandon Castle, whence being removed to Cork, he was tried and condemned as a traitor. The lord deputy, instead of putting the sentence into execution, transmitted him to the queen in London, where he ended his days a prisoner in the Tower.

We resume the history of Tyrone. The Spanish force, so warmly solicited and anxiously expected, had at length reached Castlehaven; and 2,000 men, with ordnance and ammunition, were landed under the command of Alphonso Ocampo. Upon presenting themselves to the insurgents, they announced that additional troops were to follow, as their sovereign was determined to support the Irish war in a manner worthy of his crown and its resources. The disaffected septs, confident that the epoch of their deliverance from English power was at hand, came forward in masses, without hesitation or dis-

guise. Several of the English race in Thomond and Desmond joined them; the whole country, from Kinsale and Limerick, westward, declared for the Spanish alliance. The forts of Castlehaven and Dunboy, commanding their respective harbours, together with various castles, were delivered up to the foreign commanders, who, strengthened in due course by the promised reinforcements, were enabled to put efficient garrisons into every station.

When the action of these important occurrences first set in, Tyrone found himself prevented from at once joining his friends, by the double obstacles of great distance and a severe winter. The English army, being nearer at hand, pressed forward to besiege the Spaniards, who became alarmed at the absence of the head of the revolt; but Tyrone soon displayed abilities fully equal to the critical position of affairs. Mustering his troops in the North, although it was now winter, he marched them fully equipped, and with all their baggage, into the South, and took up an admirable position, distant six miles from both the besieged and the besiegers, which enabled him to cut off the communication between the English camp and Cork. It was now only necessary for him to preserve unaltered this commanding post, and Elizabeth's hold of Ireland was lost. Of this he appears to have been himself perfectly sensible—not so the foreigners or the undisciplined host co-operating with him. They called for active hostilities, though he declared emphatically against the impolicy of giving battle to an enemy who had no means of escaping destruction, while bound by the disadvantages in which they were placed, but who might, if driven to despair, save themselves by some desperate act of valour. Fortunately for the English interest, his prudent council was relished neither by the Spanish general nor the Irish chieftains. They pressed Tyrone to advance; and he, overruled at last by their united influence on the daring but rash temper of his countrymen, reluctantly agreed to advance upon the English camp. The lord deputy, forewarned of this movement by a traitor, determined, though inferior in point of numbers, to commence the attack. The allied army,

anticipating an easy victory, seem to have been confounded by the spirit displayed against them. While some fought well, others fled without striking a blow. Tyrone sustained his character for skill and gallantry; but these availed not. The engagement was soon turned into a rout, in which the carnage was dreadful. No quarter was given to the Irish; the Spaniards only, who yielded, were made prisoners, and some of the native leaders, who were hung immediately after. Twelve hundred were slain, and eight hundred wounded. Tyrone was still bent on reanimating and keeping the confederates together; but they lost heart, and pleaded the necessity of returning to their homes. O'Donel, who never once brought his followers into the field, effected his escape in terror to the Continent; the Spaniards capitulated ere long; and Tyrone, stung with disappointment and shame, was constrained to effect his retreat by forced marches to the North, and conceal himself in his own territory, with the thin remains of his followers.

While these decisive measures were bringing the war to a close, Elizabeth was dying; and Mountjoy, who had received private intimation of the coming event, resolved to conclude a peace before the news of her decease should be publicly known, as in that case the still unsettled state of politics in England might revive the hopes of the scattered Irish, and afford the undismayed Tyrone new resources to work upon. Accordingly a negotiation having been opened, Sir William Godolphin was dispatched, to offer him conditions at once easy and honourable. Thus invited, he waited personally upon the lord deputy, and made an unqualified submission. In return he received a full pardon for himself and followers, the restoration of his blood and honours, and a new patent for his lands, some portions excepted, which were reserved for certain chieftains who had been received into favour, and some which were required as the sites of English garrisons. To these reservations Tyrone freely consented. When all was concluded, he was told of the queen's death, and burst into a passion of tears.

A short interval sufficed to terminate, in an unexpected manner, the career of this brave and still persecuted nobleman. James of Scotland ascended the English throne, and confirmed the agreement entered into by Elizabeth's deputy. Tyrone presented himself in London, and was graciously received by the king, but insulted by the people whenever he appeared in public. A fresh patent issued for his earldom and estates, but he was still insecure. The Irish policy of the new sovereign was intently directed upon two objects—the enforcement of the Protestant religion and the establishment of an English plantation. Tyrone stood in the way of both, and fit heads and hands were soon found to accomplish his removal. The rumours of mysterious plots and traitorous conspiracies which had begun to distract the minds of men in England, spread to Ireland, and were quickly taken advantage of by the party in power. Dark hints were given of a general revolt of the Catholic lords; Tyrone was indicated as their leader; and the popular belief that he was to be seized and ruined became so general and strong, that, alarmed for his safety, he took leave of his native land, and withdrew to Spain. His flight has been construed into a proof of his guilt by some writers. It is rather a presumption of his innocence. A man so able and experienced would have been prepared for hostilities, if he had really proposed to engage in them. An anonymous letter, dropped in the castle of Dublin, which mentioned no names, appears to be the only thing that can be referred to by way of sign that a new rebellion was contemplated. There is no evidence whatever to show that Tyrone had joined a plot—if plot there was,—much less that he had agreed to become its leader. Nevertheless, many historians concur in representing him as flying from the punishment due to an offence which he cannot be proved to have committed. They would be more justified in assuming, that, finding the pursuits of his enemies as restless and malignant as ever, he was driven to believe that it was vain for him to think of preserving his property or life in Ireland; and that, with such a conviction upon his mind, he preferred an honourable exile abroad, rather than make the fate

of the last Tyrone the undignified counterpart of the fate of the last Desmond.

The family of O'Neil was now prostrate and ruined. Springing from the remotest age of Irish history, it withstood the invasion, opposed a strong and gallant front to the aggressions of 400 years, and survived the several noble factions which had risen upon the ruins of other native chieftains, and been overwhelmed in their turn. But the basis of their greatness was at last cut off: losing the extensive property they had so long possessed, the family also lost their distinct character and formidable power; the sept ceased to exist as a separate band, and ere long merged into the general body of the mixed community by which the country was now inhabited.

A few words seem to be called for here by way of explanation. In relating the various circumstances by which the fall of this great house was occasioned, we have neither dwelt at length nor laid particular stress upon the religious differences of the contending parties, and the consequent interference of the Pope, as a party to their struggles. Other writers give extended accounts of the aid afforded by Rome and Spain to Tyrone, as well as to Desmond. A comparison of these with the limited notice taken here of the Papal and Spanish interference, may lead, perhaps, to a suspicion of wilful partiality on the part of the author. As it is prudent to guard against the possible infliction of so grave an imputation, we are anxious to state explicitly, that a deliberate consideration of the whole case has led us to a conviction, that religion bore only a secondary influence upon the affairs of this period. It is difficult in the extreme to decide any question with perfect impartiality, into which that great principle enters, because, whenever admitted, it rides over and subdues every other influence in the minds of most men. If, however, making the necessary effort, and abstracting all religious associations from our consideration of the events before us, we look steadily at the broad current of events, as it rolled turbulently along, we shall hardly fail to perceive that disagreements as to their respective forms of divine worship were far from being the fountain-heads of the

animosities by which the belligerents were hurried into arms. In the extirpation of Desmond and the expatriation of Tyrone, the main object of the English crown was to crush a power found to be incompatible with its own dominion. Next to the crown, we have to examine the ministers and agents who carried its policy into execution. Beyond all doubt they were men incited solely by the hope of winning the large estates which it was the custom, in all such proceedings, to surrender as the prizes of success. Last of all come the parties attacked; and it is quickly seen that they were principally intent upon preserving their possessions, their privileges, and their laws. Thus, though we may behold religion adopted as a convenient ally on both sides, and equally abused by both—it is impossible to discover that religion was the cause fought for on either side.

The first great division of the history of the connection with England closes with the extraordinary career of Hugh O'Neil, the second earl of Tyrone. Four hundred and forty years had now revolved, so thickly charged with clashing incidents and multiplied horrors, that upon a first review of the past, nothing is discernible but general confusion. But as we fix our eyes steadily upon the crowded mass of persons and things, we perceive one strong iron chain of events extending throughout the whole term, and marking its true character with heavy distinctness. Whenever this long interval is closely inspected, false principles, half measures, incongruous actions, deceit and dissimulation, are found engendering, at every turn, disorder and crime. Entering upon the kingdom with a title he must have despised, Henry II. is content to receive as his subjects a people who submit without being subdued. He fears not to let loose upon them a troop of daring captains, who set up as their rule of conduct the shallow pretext which was the standard of the invasion. Some laws of England, carelessly added to the Irish code, introduce all the contradictions of a double system of jurisprudence in the adjustment of the few differences which

are not sharply settled by the sword. The mailed baron treads out the light-armed chief, who, flying from the rich pastures to the mountain wastes, rushes back at the first favourable opportunity, and lays waste the inheritance he is no longer permitted to enjoy. From the reign of Henry II. to Henry VII. this unparalleled state of murder, perpetual rapine, and unmitigated misrule continues. The five kings found by the English invaders have been frittered down and subdivided into sixty petty dynasts;*—rising above and over-riding

* These are enumerated and described in a curious Tract, printed in the State Papers:—"Who lyste make surmyse to the king for the reformation of his lande of Ireland, yt is necessary to shewe hym the state of all the noble folke of the same, as well of the kynges subjectes and Englyshe rebelles, as of Iryshe enymyes. And fyrst of all to make His Grace understande that there byn more than 60 countryes called regyons, in Ireland, inhabytyd with the kinges Iryshe enymyes. Some region is bygge as a shyre, and some a lytyll lesse: where reygneith more than 60 capytaynes, whereof some callyth themselves kynges, some kynges peyres, in ther langage, some prynceis, some dukes, some archedukes, that lyveth onely by the swerde, and obeyeth no other temporall person, but onely to himselfe that is stronge: and every of the saide capytaynes makeyth warre and peace for hymselfe, and holdeith by swerde, and hath imperiall jurysdyction within his rome, and obeyeth to noo other person, Englyshe ne Irishe, except only to suche persones as may subdue hym by the swerde; of which regions, and capytaines of the same, the names folowyth immediate:—

Here after insuyth the names of the chief Iryshe countreys and regions of Wolster (Ulster), and chief capytaines of the same.

First, the great O'Neil, chief captain of the nation within the countrey of, and region of Tyreown (Tyrone).

O'Donel, chief captain of his nation within the region and country of Tyrconnell, near Donegal.

O'Neil of the Tre-ugh-O'Neill or Claneboy, in the south-west of Antrim, and north of Down, and chief captain of the same.

O'Cahan, of Kenoght, in Derry, between Lough Foyle and the Ban, and chief captain of the same.

O'Dogherty of Inishowen, between Loughs Swilley and Foyle, chief captain of his nation.

Maguire of Fermanagh, chief captain of his nation.

Magennis of Upper Iveagh, in Down, chief captain of his nation.

O'Hanlon of Orior, in Armagh, chief captain of his nation.

M'Mahon possessed the Irish part of Uriel, now part of the county of Monaghan. Chief captain of his nation.

Here after insuyth the names of the chief Iryshe regions and countreys of Laynster (Leinster), and the chief captains of the same.

M'Murrough (called also Kavanagh) of Idrone, in the west part of Carlow.

O'Byrne's country was in that part of the county of Wicklow between Wicklow-head and Arklow.

these, appear a few palatine magnates; until at last the crown bears down, with all its might, upon the delinquent English and

O'Morough held the west part of the county of Wexford between Enniscorthy and the coast, formerly called the barony of Deeps.

O'Thole's country was formerly called the barony of Castle Kevan, and comprised that part of Wicklow which lies between Talbotstown, Newcastle, and Ballincar.

O'Nolan inhabited the south-west point of Wexford.

M'Gilpatrick, afterwards called Fitzpatrick, of Upper Ossory, in the Queen's County.

O'More of Leix, which was by the Irish statute 3 & 4 Philip and Mary constituted part of the new counties thereby erected, called Queen's County.

O'Dempsy of Glinmaliry, near Portnehinch, in the north part of the Queen's County.

O'Connor of Offaley, which was by the above-mentioned statute converted into King's County.

O'Doyle of Oregan, in the barony of Tinnehinch, in Queen's County.

All these were chief captains of their nation.

Here after followeth the names of the chief Irish regions, and countreys of Mownster (Munster), and chief captains of the same.

Fyrste of the Irishe regions and capytaines of Desmound:—

M'Carthy More (or the great M'Carthy) of Desmond, in the county of Kerry, between Dingle Bay and Kenmare river.

Cormok M'Teague (likewise a M'Carthy) of Muskerry, in the county of Cork.

O'Donaghue of Lough Lene (Killarney), in the county of Kerry.

O'Sullivan of Beare, in the county of Cork, between Kenmare river and Bantry Bay.

O'Conor of Traghticonnor, the north part of Kerry.

M'Carthy Reugh of Carbery, in the county of Cork.

O'Driscol of Baltimore, in the south part of Cork.

There was one O'Mahon of Fonsheraghe (now roaring water), and another of Kinalmeaky, both in Carbery.

O'Brien of Toybrien, in the barony of Ibrikin, in the county of Clare.

O'Kennedy of Lower Ormonde, west of Lough Deirgeart, in the north part of Tipperary.

O'Carrol of Ely, now the barony of Eglish, in the south part of King's County.

O'Meagher of Ikerin, now a barony in the north-east angle of Tipperary.

M'Mahon of Corkvaskin, the south-west extremity of Clare, now the barony of Moyferla.

O'Conor of Coreumroe, in the west part of Clare.

O'Loughlin of Burrin, in the north-west part of Clare.

O'Grady, who possessed that part of Clare now called the barony of Bunratty.

O'Brien of Arra, east of the Shannon, in the county of Tipperary.

O'Mulryan, or Ryan of Owney, south of Arra.

O'Dwyer of Kilnamanna, south of Owney.

M'Brien of Coonagh, in Limerick.

irregular Irish. Nearly a hundred sanguinary years were occupied in reducing and removing both these mighty factions:

Here after insuyth the names of the chief Irishe regions and countries of Conaght, and chief captains of the same:—

O'Conor Roo, of Maghery Conough, near Lough Cane, in Roscommon.

O'Kelly, who dwelt in the barony of Kilconnell, in Galway.

O'Madden, at Portumna, in the barony of Longford, in Galway.

O'Ferral of Annaly, comprising great part of the county of Longford.

O'Reilly possessed the East Brenny, extending over great part of the county of Cavan.

O'Rourke possessed the West Brenny, being the south part of Leitrim.

M'Donough of Tiraghrill, in the south-east of Sligo.

M'Dermid of Mylurge, extending from Boyle to Lough Allen, in Roscommon.

O'Gara of Coolavin, in the south point of Sligo.

O'Flaherty of Borin, in Moycullin, in the county of Galway.

O'Malley of Morisk, in the south-west of Mayo.

O'Hara of Maherlene, now Leney, in Sligo.

O'Dowdy of Tyrevagh, in the county of Sligo.

O'Donaghue of Corran, in the same county.

M'Manns O'Conor (commonly called O'Conor of Sligo), of Carbery, in the north part of Sligo.

Here followyth the names of the chief Irish regions and countreys of the county of Meathe, and the chief captains of the same:—

O'Mulloughlin of Clonlonan, in Westmeath.

M'Geoghehan, who dwelt on the west side of Lough Ennel, in the barony of Moycashel, in Westmeath.

O'Mulmoy, or O'Mulloy, of Fircal, of King's County.

Also there is more than thirty greate captaines of the Englishe noble folk, that followyth the same Irishe order, and kepeith the same rule, and every of them makeith warre and pease for hymself, without any lycence of the king, or of any other temporall person, save to hym that is strongeyst, and of suche that may subdue them by the swerde. Ther names folowyth immedyat:—

The Erlle of Desmounde, lord of the county of Kerry.

Fitz Gerald, called the Knight of Kerry.

Fitzmaurice, whose territory was in the modern barony of Clanmaurice.

Sir Thomas Desmond, knight.

Sir John of Desmond, knight.

Sir Gerot of Desmond, knight.

The Lord Barrye of Barrymore and Buttevant, county of Cork.

The Lord Roache of Fermoy, county of Cork.

The young Lord Barrye, Barry Oge of Kinnelea, county of Cork.

The Lord Courcey, of the barony of Courceys, south of Barry Oges country.

The Lord Cogan, who held part of the barony of the Barretts.

The Lord Barret, who held another part of the same barony.

The White Knight (Fitzgerald), whose country lay in the baronies of Clanwilliam, Condons, and Clangibbon, in the counties of Tipperary and Cork.

The Knight of the Valley or Glen (Fitzgerald) had a territory on the

one huge system of violence is thus swept away by another; and a change takes place—but it is only a change from one form of cruelty to another,—the people every where still groan under oppression, and the land still heaves with discontent.

The gigantic strides that were taken, and the monstrous blows struck, to establish the authority of the crown in Ireland during the 16th century, are not to be contemplated, even at this distance of time, without indignation. To the house of Tudor belong the bloody honours of this unmatched labour of tyranny. Conceived by Henry VII., it was begun by Henry VIII., who hung at Tyburn, Thomas, tenth earl of Kildare, and his five uncles;—it was continued by Mary, who confiscated

south side of the Shannon, in Limerick, from the confines of Kerry to near the river Deel.

Sir Gerald of Desmonds sons, of the county of Waterford.

The Powers, of the county of Waterford.

Sir William Bourke, knight, of the county of Limerick, barony of Clanwilliam.

Sir Pyers Butler, knight, and all the captains of the Butlers of the county of Kilkenny and of the county of Fyddert (Fethard), in the south-east of Tipperary.

Here folowyth the names of Englyshe great rebelles in Conaght:—

The Lord Bourke M'William Oughter, of Mayo.

The Lord Bourke M'William Eighter, of Clanricard, which comprised the baronies of Longford, Leitrim, and Galway.

The Lord Bermyngham of Athenry.

Sir Miles Stauntons sons, of Clanmorris, in Mayo.

Sir Jordan Desters sons: M'Jordan, Baron Dester, was seated in the barony of Gallen, in Mayo.

The Lord Nangle M'Costello, Baron Nangle, eastern side of the barony of Costello, in Mayo.

Sir Walter Barretts sons, of Tyrawley, in the north-east of Mayo.

Here folowyth the names of the great English rebelles of Wolster (Ulster):—

Sir Rowland Savage, knight, of Lecale, in the county of Down.

Fitzhowlyn of Tuscarde, same county.

Fitzjohn Byssede, of the Glynnes, now the barony of Glenarm, in Antrim.

Here after folowyth the names of the Englyshe capytaynes of the county of Meath, that obey not the king's lawe:—

The Dyllons.

The Daltonns.

The Tyrrelles.

The Dedalamoris.

A very full and authoritative report on the state of Ireland, written about 1515, rates the total sum paid in tribute by the English counties, at the period when it was written, at £720,—a considerable sum, if multiplied by the rate of value for that time.

the King's and Queen's Counties, containing 916,820 statute acres; it was prolonged by Elizabeth, who extirpated the Desmonds, and seized upon 574,628 acres; and it was completed by James I., who drove O'Neil into exile, and grasped a vast tract, containing 818,344 statute acres, in Tyrone and the northern counties, and 446,000 acres in Wicklow and the midland counties. Thus the subjugation by the house of Tudor of the barons of English origin, and the Irish chiefs, involved the forfeiture of 2,838,972 acres; and an outlay of money by the English government, the amount of which cannot be ascertained, but which must have been vast, if we are to give Sir W. Petty credit for exactness in estimating the expenses of Elizabeth's wars in Ireland by themselves at £3,000,000 sterling.

Respecting these repeated confiscations, or plantations, as they were termed, we have now to offer some explanation and a few details. If not altogether in point of principle, they, in point of practice, at least, proceeded mainly upon the plan of exterminating the natives, and repeopling Ireland with Englishmen and Scotchmen. Our information of the particular facts connected with Mary's appropriation of the King's and Queen's Counties, are imperfect and unexact. We know more of Elizabeth's grants in Desmond, and of James's plantation in Ulster.

An English colony in Munster, long a pet scheme with Elizabeth, was appropriately facilitated by the havoc of war, pestilence, and famine, which had in a manner depopulated the country during her wars with the earl of Desmond. As soon as the forfeiture of that nobleman's property was obtained,—the act, by the by, was not procured with ease,—letters were addressed to every county in England, encouraging younger brothers to become undertakers of the new venture in Ireland. To such persons estates were offered on the most advantageous terms. They were to maintain themselves as a distinct and superior race, and no native Irish were to be admitted amongst their tenantry. Assurances were given that sufficient garrisons would be stationed on their frontiers; and that commissioners would be appointed to decide all con-

troversies that might arise amongst them. Upon these terms Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Norris, Sir Warham St. Leger, Sir George Bourchier, and a number of others, received grants of different portions. According to a MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, 33 seigniories, amounting to 244,080 acres, forfeited by Desmond, were granted to as many adventurers. These would leave 330,548 to be restored to such as obtained pardons, or were abandoned to the old possessors. It is but fair to admit, therefore, that notwithstanding the severity of the exclusive principle upon which the project was originally launched, grants and conveyances were made after all to the Irish. The sheer force of necessity must have extorted what national and religious prejudice would have denied. What were the particular considerations upon which these unavoidable concessions were yielded, it were useless to inquire, inasmuch as the rank and consequence of the principal English grantees, the odious character of their rights, and the unattractive modes of garrison life to which they were bound down, speedily superinduced a neglect of all the conditions upon which the grants were made. In many instances the undertakers unjustly encroached on the estates of the old inhabitants, many of whom were harmless, and not a few loyal. Absentees themselves, the new race of landlords entrusted the settlement and support of their respective colonies to agents, who were—some ignorant, others negligent, and all mercenary. This account of Elizabeth's plantation in Munster applies with equal force to many other districts, the property of peers and official persons; and thus it happened that the government in past ages became a mere agency in Ireland for certain English interests, created in most cases by the tyranny of the crown, and continued by the neglect and corruption of parliament.

The plantations of James I. were in their spirit and execution to the full as severe and exclusive, and in point of extent and the style in which they were carried out, far more considerable than any of those undertaken by his predecessors. They violated, too, with equal recklessness, the legal rights of

the occupiers and the obvious suggestions of good policy. For, as the property of the soil vested by the rules of Brehon law in the sept, while its sovereignty only vested in the chief, who held, moreover, but a life estate unentailed, it is clear that the treason of the head could not fairly invalidate the property of the whole body; and as, again, the newly-imported settlers were forbidden to accept the natives as tenants, the sequel could not but fall far short of the original design, which proposed to unite together and tranquillise the different races of inhabitants. This great object was not spurned nor overlooked; on the contrary, it was speciously set forth to some extent, and then not carried into effect. To win the natives from their wild habits, and to settle them in competence—to confer upon them the education and means of civil society, the want of which was so constantly made a matter of reproach, and an apology for oppression,—this was the thing of all others admitted to be wanted, and it was not even attempted.

James's scheme was first carried into effect in Ulster, where the lands held by Tyrone and Tyrconnell as sovereign chieftains amounted to 818,344 statute acres, and formed principal portions of the counties of Donegal, Derry, Armagh, Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Cavan. The utter failure of Elizabeth's confiscations as a means of quieting disturbed districts, was not overlooked on this tempting occasion. But the inherent fault of that venture was ascribed to the grants obtained by favourites, of immense tracts, which they were unable to plant. By the present scheme, the land was divided into three classes or sets of parcels, respectively containing 2,000, 1,500, and 1,000 statute acres. One half of each county was to be parted into lots of the third or smallest class, while the remaining half was divided between the two others. In order to prevent jealousies, or the suspicion of partiality in the appropriation of the lands, the parcels were distributed by lot. The undertakers (as they were called) of the 2,000 acres were to take estates limitable to them and their heirs, and were to hold of the king *in capite;* those of 1,500 held by knights' service ; while those of 1,000 were only to hold in common socage. The first

were to build a castle, and to enclose a strong court-yard, or bawn, within four years; the second were to finish a house and bawn within two years; and the third to enclose a bawn only. For even this rude species of domestic fortification was accounted no inconsiderable defence against the incursions to be expected from the native hordes, who, being made outcasts by this enormous act of spoliation, were sure to become rebels. Undertakers of the first class, again, were to plant upon their lands within three years 48 able men of English or Scottish birth, reduced to 20 families,—to keep a demesne of 600 acres in their own hands; to have four fee farmers of 120 acres each; six leaseholders, each on 100 acres; and on the rest eight families of husbandmen, artificers, and cottagers. The others lay under the like obligations proportionably. All were, for five years after the date of their patents, to reside upon their lands, either in person, or by such agents as should be approved of by the state; and to keep sufficient arms for their defence. The British settlers and servitors were expressly forbidden to alienate, or to sublet their lands to Irishmen. They were to let them at stated rents; and for no shorter term than 21 years, or three lives. Their tenants' houses were to be built after the English fashion, and to be united in towns or villages. Power was given to erect manors, to hold courts-baron, and to create tenures. The Irish were not wholly excluded—they, too, were admissible to estates in fee simple, to be held in socage, and with all the privileges allowed to the others. But by one of those refinements of legal injustice, soon to become common in the statute book, conditions were prescribed in the case of the natives, which had the effect of debarring them from the benefit, to which, apparently, they had been advanced. The oath of supremacy was required in every instance—which amounted to a positive exclusion of the conscientious Catholic. Some sensible, and some foolish regulations were imposed upon them—the custom of wandering with their cattle from place to place for pasture, or creaghting, as it was called, was interdicted; and they were ordered to dwell in towns, and conform to the English manner

of tillage and husbandry. An annual rent from all the lands was reserved to the crown: for every 60 English acres the British undertakers paid 6*s.* 8*d.*, and their servitors 10*s.*; while the Irish for the same quantity were charged 13*s.* 4*d.*

The main and the most novel feature of this scheme was the part taken in it by the city of London. This circumstance seems to have delighted James exceedingly. "When," he cried, "his enemies should hear that the famous city of London had a footing therein, they would be terrified from looking into Ireland, the back door to England and Scotland." The quantity of land taken by the corporation of London amounted to 260,000 acres, which were divided into estates of twelve parts, each of twelve city companies taking one part by lot. The assessments levied upon the companies for this plantation eventually reached the sum of £60,000. In another chapter it will be proper to refer to the details of this portion of the scheme, to report upon the present condition of these lands, and examine how far the terms upon which the grant originally was made have been fulfilled, and proved a benefit to Ireland. We must now revert to the general subject.

A more curious accompaniment of the Ulster plantation remains to be noticed. This was the creation of the new order of nobility styled baronets. As a settlement in the midst of a plundered population required military protection, James proposed to find soldiers of honour for the service, by conferring upon 200 gentlemen the dignity of hereditary knighthood; and as this force could not be kept up without money, each baronet, upon passing his patent, was to pay into the exchequer a sum equal to the expense of keeping 30 men in Ulster, whose pay for three years was to be 8*d.* a day. But James, always needy, and constitutionally mean, applied the money received from the sale of the new titles to other purposes; and left the undertakers in Ulster to provide, as best they could, for their defence.

Once the integrity of the scheme was violated, various inroads were quickly made upon it. James led the way, as soon

as he found that he could put money in his purse by Irish confiscations. His example was followed by the lord deputy, who obtained a grant of the whole barony of Innishowen, in contravention of the rule fixing 2,000 acres as the limits of the largest lot to be held by an individual. The Protestant church next came forward with her claim to defeat the measure, insisting that she had an inalienable right to portions of the escheated property, which the crown was bound to respect.

The attempt to introduce an improved system had no sooner fallen into a modification of the old scramble for land, than a sort of contagion seemed to spread throughout the country; and ere long the keenest arts of the law, and the most daring abuses on the part of men in office, were everywhere practised to invalidate titles, and wrest estates from the hands of their rightful owners. These proceedings alarmed and confounded the friends as well as the enemies of the government. The innocent as well as the guilty, the chief proprietors along with all subordinate tenants throughout the island, were attacked in common, and swept away in masses. The king was made to believe that an immense revenue would arise to him by a resumption of grants. The local government, and its subordinate agents, perceiving that extensive estates would fall to the share of those who should attain skill in exercising this new device of civil instead of military spoliation, renewed the old practices, with some diminution of attendant violence, but no abatement of inherent injustice. The sequel only exhibits one set of reckless adventurers rushing in to overthrow another. Cases have been quoted in which the crown sued for the recovery of lands even where possession for centuries was proved; —titles, it is said, reaching up to the time of Henry II. were declared bad. When a jury, as sometimes happened, revolting at the task imposed upon them, had the moral courage to find the title not in the crown, but in the defendant, they were called before the Star Chamber, sitting in the castle of Dublin, and there censured and fined. In vain the defendants to these plundering suits pointed to Ulster, where, at that very moment, although the new plantation was carried on with some regard

to a fixed principle and system, it nevertheless seems to have been admitted that almost every condition of the original grants had already been broken; and that the titles of the recent undertakers' estates must be found bad, if the defects in them should be insisted upon. How, then, it was asked, could old titles be defended, open as they were to endless objections, the accumulations of ages?

The rule enforced was shortly this:—Wherever no original grant itself could be exhibited, or a descent or conveyance in pursuance of an original grant could not be distinctly proved, the land was immediately adjudged to the crown. It would fatigue, without instructing the reader, to enter into details of the technicalities upon which the lawyers of the day vindicated their proceedings. The general case was this:—By the act 10 Henry VII., all crown grants from 1 Edward II. had been resumed by parliament. This proved a formidable battery against titles. The lands, moreover, of all absentees, and of all who had been expelled by the Irish, had been revested in the crown by various acts of parliament, which impeached almost every grant of lands antecedent to the period just described. Subsequent grants did not prove much stronger, as the existence of preceding grants opened a wide field for the detection of flaws, omissions, and errors. If the patent did not correspond exactly with the Irish fiat or viceregal warrant used for passing it; if again, these two did not tally with the royal warrant transmitted from England; if, in short, any defect was detected in point of form, or the slightest advantage was to be gained by insisting on provisoes or saving clauses,—the title was declared bad, and there was an end of all property under it.

One of the commonest exceptions taken in point of law at this period was the following:—It had been usual in grants to reserve a rent to the crown, which formed a portion of the king's revenue. But continued commotions had rendered the regular collection of this money impracticable. In many places, the payment of royal revenues had fallen into desuetude; and had not been put in charge by the king's officers

for ages. It was now, however, determined to call for receipts of the payment of these rents; and although in numberless instances it was perfectly understood that no such documents had ever existed, it was ruled that inability to produce them sufficed to overthrow titles, in other respects the strongest and most perfect. War had executed its havoc, the confiscations now caused general terror; and legal proceedings brought in a new and more searching mode of destruction. All sorts of projects for enriching the needy and the unscrupulous were sure of favour, provided they were put forward under the spurious pretence of improving the king's revenue. Commissions of inquiry (as they were called) into defective titles were obtained in numbers, and property was everywhere disturbed: the most outrageous robberies were committed in the name and form of law.

These functionaries began by insuring their own reward. When suing out the commission to inquire for escheated lands and all rents belonging to the crown, they took care to obtain grants of both to themselves: the king was contented with a portion, or some small advance in the rent. Under the tempting authority of these documents, a set of men, called discoverers, were brought into requisition, who ransacked the Tower of London in search of ancient grants, and picked out from the old pipe rolls the original rents reserved to the crown. For the most part the possessors were either conscious of the defects in their titles, or alarmed at the danger and expense of resisting the crown, in a country where a legitimate contest for the most sacred rights had frequently been punished as treason, and where the prerogative had always been stretched to its utmost limits. With these feelings they were naturally anxious to enter into a compromise; and as that suited the purpose of the inquirers, the commission often ended in a composition—each party gaining for himself the best terms which the circumstances seemed to admit of.

The latter being the most moderate of the various forms of injury resorted to during this reign, we gather from it but an

imperfect idea of the acts of iniquity committed by men in office and the favourites of government, in matters of this description. With the view of placing the flagrant conduct of many such persons in its true light, it becomes necessary to abridge the account given by Carte, of the outrageous cruelties practised for the purpose of despoiling two old and unoffending proprietors—the Wicklow Byrnes—of their inheritance.

Descended from an ancient and once independent sept, these gentlemen still retained considerable landed property, —a valuable portion of which consisted of a district near Dublin, called the Ranelaghs. Upon this Sir W. Parsons, master of wards and liveries, Lord Esmond, and others, cast their eyes as desirable plunder, and determined that it should be forfeited. The Byrnes, warned of the attack, and having powerful interest in England, obtained a grant of their lands from the king. Parsons and Esmond, however, were not to be defeated by so simple a proceeding. They refused to pass the patent, and so nullified the title. Nor did they stop here. Conceiving that their own offences could only be effectually concealed, and the possession of the property fully secured, by the destruction of the Byrnes, they caused them to be arrested on a charge of treason. The witnesses provided to support the accusation, were Duffe, whom Turloch Byrne, in his office of justice of the peace, had sent to prison for cow-stealing; Mac Art and Mac Griffin, two noted thieves; and a farmer, named Archer, who seems to have withstood for a length of time the attempts made to force him into perjury, and to have been subjected for his scruples to horrible tortures. He was burned in the fleshy part of the body with hot irons, placed on a gridiron over a charcoal fire, and finally flogged until nature gave way, and he promised to swear any thing. The fortitude of the necessary witness having thus been overcome, bills of indictment were presented to the grand jury of the county of Carlow, and ignored. They were presented again, and again ignored. The suborned witnesses contradicted themselves and each other so grossly, as to be justly regarded unworthy of credit. For this opposition to the will

of government the jurors were summoned to the Star Chamber at Dublin, and heavily fined. But the witnesses, Mac Art and Mac Griffin, having failed in their villanous duty, were abandoned to the vengeance of the law, and hanged for robbery at Kilkenny: they published the innocence of the Byrnes with their dying breath.

Still the resources of Parsons and his accomplices were not exhausted. The Byrnes presented themselves before the Court of King's Bench in Dublin, to answer any charge that might be brought against them; but although no prosecutor appeared, the chief justice refused to discharge them. During two years repeated orders were transmitted from England, directing that these scandalous proceedings should cease, and that the accused should be restored to their estates; but the faction in the castle evaded and disobeyed every mandate. At length the duke of Richmond, who had generously interested himself for these persecuted Irishmen, died, and Parsons resolved to bring the plot to an issue. Grants were procured for himself and certain landowners in the county of Wicklow, of the Byrne property. These grantees were then put upon the grand jury, and fresh bills of indictment sent up against the brothers. The jurors, having received their consideration for a particular verdict, admitted as evidence for the prosecution the depositions of four criminals, who had been pardoned for swearing to the desired effect, but who were not produced in person. Their depositions, taken in Irish by one of the prosecutors, and translated by one of his creatures, proved sufficient for the purpose, and the bills were found.

Additional testimony being still deemed necessary, even more atrocious expedients were practised to obtain it. A number of persons were seized, and subjected to a hurried trial by martial law, while the regular courts were sitting. Such of them as refused to sustain the conspiracy against the Byrnes, were tortured; and some, who displayed more spirit than the rest, were put to death. Ultimately the Byrnes, by their fortitude and address, succeeded in preserving their lives. The

affair had become notorious in England, and was so strongly represented to the king, that, being shamed into active interference, he sent over commissioners to investigate the various accusations laid by his officers against their intended victims. The Byrnes were brought up, and honourably acquitted; but though their lives were thus saved, their estates were not. Parsons having previously contrived to obtain a great portion of them by patent, was permitted to keep them. It is proper to add, that the documents connected with this foul act of spoliation are preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; and that Carte, from whom this sketch has been abridged, is a historian never disposed to sympathize with Irish grievances.

Lest it should be supposed that we seek to give a tone to the colour of the first Stuart's reign, from the circumstances connected with this act of official rapine, it is proper to observe, that however appalling, they would not have been related here, had they been either singular or doubtful. Unfortunately for the character of James and his ministers in Ireland, there seems no reason to believe that there was a corner of the land into which their grasping hands were not violently pushed for injury and spoil. If the evidence we possess to this effect was even less direct and weighty than it happens to be, it would still be logical to infer, from the measures publicly executed in the king's name, that the proceedings of his officers must have been cruelly unjust. For the power to do wrong has a peculiar expansive force: it becomes enlarged as it takes in the various grades of official authority. The circle of its operations round the chief magistrates is limited; but when it reaches the minions and underlings, it spreads out wider and wider still, until its range has embraced the whole community, and all men suffer from it. It has this further property, moreover—it grows more violent the further it proceeds. The ratio of crime not only swells as it extends, but assumes a fiercer character: selfishness and cruelty distinguish it when committed in one rank, but brutality is superadded when it is perpetrated some degrees lower in the social scale.

Relying, therefore, on the acts done by James himself, we are fully warranted in describing his Irish policy as unsurpassed in the extent and depth of the iniquities produced by it. The monarch himself was peculiarly qualified for the part he performed: though mean and cowardly himself, he had a sort of bold address in running down plunder through the villany of his creatures, which assumes, when looked at from a distance, and estimated by the results, an air of equivocal greatness; when examined closely, however, it will be found in every part contemptible and minutely criminal. The case of Sir W. Parsons against the Byrnes was an enlarged edition of many of his own acts: his appetite for spoliation grew on that it fed on; for, undeterred by a conspiracy in the North to seize the forts and expel the settlers on the plantation of Ulster, he proceeded to effect others, in various directions, for which it is difficult to find justification or excuse.

There had always been resident Irish septs along the maritime districts between Dublin and Waterford. Neither grants from the crown nor incessant attacks sufficed to remove them from their mother land. They were now residing quietly where their forefathers had lived for ages—nevertheless an inquisition was held upon their title, which was declared to be in the crown. Sixty-six thousand acres between the rivers Arklow and Slane were thus seized, and applied to a mixed colony, resembling that in Ulster. In Leitrim, Longford, and Westmeath, and other counties, further inquisitions were held, and 380,000 acres were adjudged to the crown. Into the validity of the grounds assigned for these despoiling verdicts, it would now be a waste of time to enter. In some cases Irishmen were found in the possession of lands which had been in their families for ages, and dispossessed, notwithstanding, upon the production of some old grant to some retired or ruined English settlers years before. Here the reasoning upon which the legal process was conducted affords a curious specimen of inconsequential deductions. The actual possession was entirely overlooked, or treated as a nullity; the land was

then found to vest in the departed Englishman, and he was pronounced an absentee: but there were old acts of parliament unrepealed, which declared the estates of absentees forfeited to the crown; and these lands having been thus traced to an absentee, were forfeited accordingly.

James allowed his deputy to distribute these vast acquisitions as he thought proper. There was a form of instructions, and the usual flourish of a noble design. According to Leland, they were to be given to such proprietors as would be most likely to promote the general welfare and security of the country, the extension of commerce, and the civility of the natives. Fine words these, and not unworthy of the eloquent panegyric which Hume pronounces upon the whole objects conveyed in their expression. But it was the fault of James, as much as of his lord deputy, and the misfortune of Ireland, that they were only words.

If we are to particularize causes for the wide difference between this king's plans and his performances, we shall find, undoubtedly, that his necessities urged him into many inconsistencies which he might otherwise have avoided. For he was a strange compound, being at once prodigal and avaricious. With his English exchequer empty, and the revenue of Ireland falling considerably short of the expenses of its government, there was no expedient for raising money too violent or too mean to be resisted by him. At the beginning of his reign the military force on foot in Ireland amounted to 20,000 men. By the year 1622, this number was reduced to 2,000, the cost of which stood as high as £52,000 a year! This extravagant outlay was a consequence of the arbitrary manner in which every department of the state was administered and abused. Out of 34 troops into which this little army was divided, 25 were commanded by privy councillors,—men of overgrown property and influence, too deeply engaged in a common cause of self-interested misgovernment, to call each other to account; and too potent to be complained against with effect, by any person in a private station, for a grievance inflicted or a right withheld. These privileged

commanders, being large landowners, could always keep their own pay from falling into arrear by stopping an equivalent portion of the rents reserved to the crown from their estates. Nor did their corruption end here. They compounded with their men, and advanced them the money which the government had not to give, at a discount of a third or fourth part of the amount really due. The men themselves they dispersed in small parties through their estates—employing some in cultivating their lands, and others in the menial duties of their households.

Notwithstanding these proofs of depression and disorganization, there were signs of improvement, which are not to be overlooked. The customs had risen from £3,000 to £6,000, and afterwards to £9,500 a year. The profits of the Court of Wards, which had been enjoyed until the year 1617 by the lord deputy, but were then taken by James into his own hands, produced from wardships the annual amount of £10,000. Still the difference between the charge of Ireland and the annual revenue was £15,000. The more than sufficing reason for this excess lay in the number of useless pensions and places, and the maintenance of appointments for military officers, originally intended to have been temporary, but continued because they were enjoyed by persons of consideration, who were members of the administration, and possessed of too much influence and power to be dismissed or called to account.

Long and uninteresting as this account of James's misgovernment has proved, there were other schemes to which he leaned, for gratifying favourites and raising money, too gross and penal to be passed over in silence. His malpractices, instead of relieving, had only aggravated his difficulties; and we find him driven from one act of dishonest force to attempt others still more unprincipled and outrageous. Certain cities and corporations had received grants of forfeited land, on the condition that they were not to be alienated, and that the profits should be regularly applied to the building of walls and bridges, repairing fortifications, and the furthering other civil or charitable objects of a public nature. But the cities and corporations had not fulfilled the trust, and it was now pro-

posed to resume the lands. There was an estimate made out in detail, which showed that £50,000 might be obtained in fines, on regranting or otherwise assigning the several lots. But though the scheme was highly thought of and patronised by the government, it was ultimately abandoned, as too bad an extreme.

The last of James's reclaiming projects was cut short at the point of execution by his death, but was not lost sight of by his successor. It embraced no less than the establishment of an extensive plantation in the province of Connaught, similar to that of Ulster. The needy sovereign readily caught the tempting bait it held out. He saw in it one of those gilded stratagems to raise money, by fines, by compositions, and a renewal of grants, the monstrous illegality of which was covered over and concealed by specious pretences of bringing the wild Irish into the circle of civil society, and extending the reign of law and order throughout the island.

The leading circumstances of the project were as follows. When the chief proprietors of Connaught and Clare compounded for their estates with Sir John Perrot, in the reign of Elizabeth, they made surrenders in the usual form to the crown. These they had generally neglected to enrol, and to take out letters patent for. James, in the 13th year of his reign, had issued a commission to receive the surrenders of such estates, which he re-conveyed by new letters patent to the proprietors and their heirs, to be holden of the crown by knights' service as of the castle of Athlone. By the neglect of the enrolling clerks in the Court of Chancery, it seems that though £3,000 had been paid as the enrolment fee, not one of these patents had really been enrolled. Advantage was now taken of this omission, the titles were pronounced defective, and the lands adjudged to the crown. This was done although an act of state, passed by St. John, the lord deputy who succeeded Chichester, had declared that they stood confirmed to their possessors, who were admitted to have discharged their annual compositions with remarkable punctuality into the exchequer.

As the sense of equity entertained by the authorities then

existing in Ireland, inspired as little confidence as their administration of the law, the proprietors offered to purchase a new confirmation of their patents, by doubling their annual composition. And as their tenure exempted them from suing out their liveries or taking the oath of supremacy, they likewise offered to pay a fine of £10,000, which was equivalent to at least £100,000 in the present day. This sum being found, upon computation, to be as much as the king could gain by an entire plantation, the proposal was favourably entertained, and the project of the plantation was suspended; in which state the affair rested at the subsequent demise of the crown.

James bequeathed his policy and its punishment to his successor—it was despotism, not government—the concentration into one irresistible form of a hundred petty tyrannies. His great measures, those upon which he prided himself most highly, and which have been most loudly praised—his confiscations and resumptions of grants of land,—were but less violent forms of the oppression for which so many precedents had been set, and they were strong in original evils. The tenure of land, that first element of security and peace, perpetuated the destructive distinctions of race: instead of converting their jarring animosities into consistent harmony, he introduced special provisions for keeping them always discordant, and always mischievous. As he could not make his plantations English, and he would not make them Irish, they necessarily became failures. By maintaining the old ascendancy of English over Irish, he insured the incessant strife of parties; and by confirming the new ascendancy of Protestant over Catholic, he added fresh elements of strife to the storm that was already raging.

At the same time, it cannot with truth be affirmed, that his designs were wholly without wisdom or humanity, but it may be safely declared, that whatever merit they possessed was lost in the feeble attempts made to carry them into effect—attempts in which his principal instruments, catching the contagion of his own mercenary corruption, were the principal agents in counteracting their better influence.

If we take leave under his reign of an aristocracy, alternately the tyrants and victims of the licentious state of things out of which they sprang, we become acquainted with an oligarchy more refined in the arts of oppression, who rendered the slow force of law as stringent a means of misgovernment as the summary force of arms; and who still retained the ignorant but impassioned people in a state of the lowest slavery, and the country in a state of savage distress.

But although this appears to be the true character of the reign of James I. considered as a whole, we are bound to state that some of its opening passages augured a much higher result. Descended from the Irish kings who had once ruled in Scotland, and the son of a queen loved for her beauty and misfortunes, and venerated as a martyr to the Roman Catholic faith, this monarch was popular with the Irish when he ascended the throne; and amongst the first measures of his government were some as wise as they were merciful. Mountjoy, who continued to act as deputy for a short period after his accession, published a general indemnity for all past offences. By another act, he declared the people exempt from the arbitrary power of their chiefs, and placed them under the protection of the king and the British law. About the same time, the old Irish customs of tanistry and gavelkind were adjudged to be illegal by the Court of King's Bench; the tenure of land was improved; the distribution of the island into counties perfected; the judges holding assizes for the first time in Ulster, completed the circuit of Connaught, and revived them in Munster, where the degeneracy of the Geraldines had long caused them to fall into disuse.

Sir John Davies, who sat as one of the judges on these occasions, and was the author of the excellent "Discoverie" so generally quoted in all works on Irish history, gives an account of these legal improvements, from which a paragraph or two will be found worth reading.

"First, the common people were taught, by the justices of the assize, that they were free to the kings of England, and not slaves and vassals to their pretended lords: that the

cuttings, cosherings, sessings, and other extortions of the lords, were unlawful; and that they should not any more submit themselves thereunto, since they were now under the protection of so just and mighty a prince, as both would and could protect them from all wrongs and oppressions. They gave a willing ear unto these lessons; and thereupon the greatness and power of these Irish lords over the people suddenly fell and vanished, when their oppressions and extortions were taken away, which did maintain their greatness; insomuch as divers of them, who formerly made themselves owners of all (by force), were now, by the law, reduced to this point: that, wanting means to defray their ordinary charges, they resorted ordinarily to the lord deputy, and made petition that, by license and warrant of the state, they might take some aid and contribution from their people; as well to discharge their former debts, as for competent maintenance in time to come. But some of them, being impatient of this diminution, fled out of the realm to foreign countries; whereupon we may well observe, that as extortion did banish the old English freeholder, who could not live but under the law; so the law did banish the Irish lord, who could not live but by extortion.

"Again, these circuits of justice did (upon the end of the war) more terrify the loose and idle persons, than the execution of the martial law, though it were quick and sudden; and, in a short time after, did so clear the kingdom of thieves and other capital offenders, as I dare affirm, that for the space of five years last past, there have not been found so many malefactors worthy of death, in all the six circuits of this realm, (which is now divided into 32 shires at large,) as in one circuit of six shires, namely, the western circuit in England: for the truth is, that in time of peace, the Irish are more fearful to offend the law than the English, or any other nation whatsoever.

"Again, whereas the greatest advantage that the Irish had of us in all our rebellions, was our ignorance of their countries, their persons, and their actions. Since the law and her ministers have had a passage among them, all their places of

fastness have been discovered and laid open; all their passes cleared; and notice taken of every person that is able to do either good or hurt. It is known not only how they live, and what they do, but it is foreseen what they intend to do, insomuch as Tyrone hath been heard to complain, that he had so many eyes watching over him, as he could not drink a full carouse of sack, but the state was advertised thereof, within a few hours after."

Sir John Davies, with Sir E. Pelham (chief baron), were the first judges of assize who went into Tyrone and Tyrconnel. In another passage of the same work Sir John describes the popular joy at their arrival and declarations:—"The Irishry, who in former times were left under the tyranny of their lords and chiefs, were received into his majesty's immediate protection. Our visitation to the shires, however distasteful to the Irish lords, was sweet and most welcome to the common people; they were now taught that they were free subjects to the king, and not slaves and vassals to their pretended lords, whose extortions were unlawful, and that they should not any more submit thereunto."

It has been observed, and not without reason, that these proceedings are in some degree chargeable with the fault of precipitancy. The transition from one set of long-established laws, tenures and customs, was perhaps too suddenly brought about, and would have proved more effectual had it been more gradually advanced. We are not, however, the less disposed to recognise the inherent virtue of the new policy, nor to deny that we distinguish in it qualities not unworthy of the genius of Lord Bacon, whom James is said to have consulted on the state of Ireland; and also not unworthy of the extensive reading and sound views—both extraordinary for the age in which they appeared—of Sir J. Davies, then attorney general.

Had James continued to act in the spirit with which his reign commenced; had he exerted himself consistently to reclaim his Irish subjects, by a gentle gradation of improvements; and had he been tolerant of the Roman Catholic religion,

he would indeed have proved a benefactor, and insured the prosperity of the country, by making it, for the first time in history, the theatre of constitutional government. But James was in heart a tyrant; moreover, he was weak, impatient, and in want of money; and his lord deputy, an officer of considerable talent and decision of character, but a soldier of fortune, was unable to resist the temptation of enriching himself by the numerous confiscations and discoveries of forfeited lands which took place during his administration.

Arthur Chichester, Baron Belfast, was the second son of Sir John Chichester, of Raleigh, in Devonshire; where, says Sir W. Pole, in his Survey of that county, the family had long flourished, eminent for its antiquity, estates, employments, and alliances. Arthur gave early proofs of character. After spending some time at the university, he embraced a military life, and signalised himself by attacking and robbing one of the queen's purveyors. Flying from England to avoid the consequences of a prosecution for this crime, he joined the army of Henry IV. of France; and displaying in that monarch's service the courage which was to be expected from a man who had committed so bold an offence, he was knighted, and afterwards obtaining a pardon from Elizabeth, returned to England. But having lost caste by the misconduct of his youth, and having acquired no fortune, he soon repaired to Ireland, the great field for adventures of every kind and degree. That country he effectually assisted to "plough and break up," according to his panegyrists. After serving with reputation in different parts of the country, under Lord Mountjoy, he succeeded Sir H. Davies in the post of sergeant-major of the army in 1602; was admitted a privy councillor, April 21, 1603; appointed governor of Carrickfergus in the month of September following, and lord deputy in 1604. In this office Sir Arthur particularly recommended himself to the king's favour by the spirit with which he applied himself to the Ulster plantation. He rendered himself still more conspicuous by violating, for his own advantages, all the essential conditions of the main project. The estates he thus obtained

were enormous. Besides the entire territory of Innishowen, which he was empowered to divide into precincts of 2,000 acres each, Lodge enumerates a long catalogue of other lands and grants conferred upon him, which exceeded in extent the acquisitions of the most fortunate plunderers in the whole range of the old system.*

Having gained all these lands, Chichester was driven into measures of still more indefensible character, in order to secure an undisturbed possession of them. The deputy, who had been himself the active means of affording conclusive proof of the uncertain nature of tenures by patent or grant from the crown, and who had repeatedly shown, and incontrovertibly, that what the king gave, he could and would take back again, naturally desired to possess some still stronger

* On the 14th January, 1610, he had a grant of the castle of Dungannon, and 1,320 acres of escheated lands within that precinct, and other hereditaments of great value in the province of Ulster: two distinct patents were passed, bearing date November, 1621, confirming all his said estates, which were very large; the former whereof contained (among others) the manor, fort, town, and lands of Dungannon, (where he had built a fort 120 feet square, with four half bulwarks, encompassed by a ditch 20 feet broad, and counterscarped; a large church and steeple, 20 houses after the English manner, &c., which was made a borough town, and sends members to parliament); the barony or territory of Innishowen; all islands within the loughs or arms of the sea, called Lough Swilly and Lough Foile; the manors, castles, and loughs of Ellagh, Greencastle, Doncranagh, &c.; the ferry upon Lough Foile, plying between Greencastle and Termonmagillegan; four salmons every day out of the salmon fishing of Culmore; the right of patronage, presentation, and advowson of the rectories and vicarages of Movill, Culdagh, Clonca, Donaghclantagh, Clanmony, Diserteigny alias Dristerteighny, Fathan alias Fawen, and of all other churches whatever in O'Dogherty's county; with the premises erected into the manors of Dungannon, Ellagh, Greencastle alias Newcastle, Duncranagh, and Malyn. The latter grant contained the castle or mansion-house, town, and manor of Belfast; the territories of Tuoghnefall, Tuoghmoylone, Tuoghcinament, Carnemony, Carnetall, and Monksland; the rectory of Sankhill, and all other rectories, &c. within the said territories; the entire fishing of the river Lagan; the rectories of Antrim, Glyn, Morylike, Templepatrick, Durien, Dundermott, Roisroilike, Doughconor, Kilrowte, Ballynemenagh, Dromowlagh, Dunien, Donoughconnor, and Kilroigh; the Friary of Masseryne; the entire fishing of Loughsidney, Loughneagh, or Loughchichester; and in the river Banne to the Salmon Leap, &c., &c., in the counties of Antrim, Downe, Tyrone, and Londonderry, erected into the manors of Belfast, Ballynlinny, Moylynny, and Castlechichester.—*Lodge and Archdale's Peerage of Ireland*, vol. v. p. 322.

and more durable title to his own estates. And what so binding for this purpose as legislative authority? He therefore determined to obtain, by a specific act of all the powers of the kingdom, a ratification of the right under which he had acquired his property. As there had not, however, been a parliament summoned for seven and twenty years, there was reason to fear that the government would be too weak to carry any sinister or selfish projects on; for the landed interest had always predominated in these assemblies, and that was now agitated by lively fears and deep resentments. The recent attacks upon property were keenly felt; and the principal lords and landowners, being Roman Catholics, were incensed by the penalties enforced against them for not attending the Protestant form of worship.

In this difficulty, Chichester took bold and decisive measures to carry his objects. In the peers the prelates gave him an assured majority: there were 25 bishops in the house, 4 earls, 5 viscounts, and 16 barons; and as all the churchmen voted with the crown, the placemen were sure with their aid to defeat the opposition. To gain a corresponding ascendancy in the commons, no less than 40 new boroughs were created at once. Some of these were so small as to be almost uninhabited, and some so obscure that the correct way of spelling their names was not known.

Assured by this process of a party upon whom he could depend, Chichester called the new parliament together, May 18, 1613, and directed the commons to elect a speaker. Upon this motion the two parties divided. Sir John Davies was proposed as the government candidate, and Sir John Everard, another lawyer of equal learning and character, was brought forward by the opposition. It was agreed that, in taking the division, the ayes should go out, and the noes remain in the house; but no sooner had the supporters of government withdrawn, than a member of the opposition, rising in his place, exclaimed, "They are gone, and ill betide them: as they have left us possession of the house, which is our right, let us take our course."

Acting upon this original suggestion, they proceeded to elect their own candidate, and placed him in the chair. The ministerialist party, when they returned, insisted upon his giving up the seat; but were told that in withdrawing they had abandoned their right of election. This poor quibble being disregarded, Everard was desired to leave the chair; and, as he refused, the others placed Sir John Davies in his lap. A scene of disgraceful turbulence followed. Everard, still refusing to leave the chair, was forced from it by the treasurer and the master of ordnance; while Sir Daniel O'Brien and Sir William Buck strove to hold him in it. After a short struggle Sir John Davies was put in possession, and the popular party withdrew in a body. But the commotion did not end here, for equal violence was displayed in subsequent transactions. The retiring members were repeatedly summoned to the house, but declined to attend, and declared the constitution and proceedings of the parliament illegal: they formed an association for the redress of grievances, which, as then enumerated, were chiefly confined to the present constitution of the House of Commons, its place of meeting, and to the validity of the recent elections. They protested against all legislative acts passed during their absence, and made significant allusions to a rising. Had the contest come to blows, the government, in all probability, would have been worsted; for the deputy had few troops, while the seceders commanded in their own trains a considerable force. A single blow might have raised a rebellion, but Chichester, having carried the desired measure for confirming the escheat of the Ulster estates, in which he was so largely interested, dexterously resolved to put an end to the commotion by removing its cause, and prorogued the session.

Wherever the head of a government is bent upon enriching himself, corruption is sure to make rapid way in the departments of administration. Whatever of moderation or merit belonged to the early years of James's reign, was undermined and crushed by the lord deputy's labours for his own aggrandizement. Having realized a property far greater than any

other Irish statesman of his age—having abused the constitution in its most vital parts, to secure an unsubvertible title to it—he obtained a peerage with the title of Baron Belfast, in 1616, and some years after returned to England.

He was succeeded by Sir Oliver St. John. This deputy signalized himself by a vigorous execution of the penal statutes. The Roman Catholic Church, having been deprived by the Reformation of the means of rearing a priesthood at home, had sent numbers to be educated in foreign universities. By these men the consolations of religion were administered to the great mass of the population, and a considerable portion of the gentry. St. John banished them from the country by proclamation, and thus left the Roman Catholics without pastors. Seeking the shortest way of confirming all civil authority and the patronage of government to Protestants, he compelled all officers of government, and magistrates, to take the oath of supremacy. His mode of dealing with refractory bodies upon this question was striking. Take, for instance, the case of Waterford. In that city recusants had for some time been elected to the municipal offices. At this St. John took offence, and issuing a commission, seized upon the liberties or revenues of the city, and by that means put it out of the power of the citizens to render themselves obnoxious to government for the future. The true character of James's reign was fully developed in proceedings such as these. The brand upon it is distinct, and reads plainly enough—persecution in religious and confiscation in civil affairs.

CHAPTER IX.

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF THE CONNECTION WITH ENGLAND—*continued.*

THE REFORMATION.—FIRST UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN IRELAND.—EXCOMMUNICATIONS OF ARCHBISHOPS COMYN AND HENRY DE LONDRES, AND OF MULLOY, BISHOP OF FERNS.—DE LEDRED, BISHOP OF OSSORY'S PROCEEDINGS AGAINST DAME ALICE KYTELER, ROGER OUTLAW, PRIOR OF KILMAINHAM AND LORD DEPUTY, &c.—THE FIRST DOCTRINES INTRODUCED WITH THE REFORMATION.—STATUTES PASSED AND MEANS TAKEN FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE NEW FORMS OF WORSHIP.—PROTESTANTS, CLERICAL AND LAY, ABUSE THE CHURCH SCANDALOUSLY.—BISHOPS TAKE A LEAD IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS, AND BECOME PRINCIPAL INSTRUMENTS OF MISGOVERNMENT FOR A LONG SERIES OF YEARS.

There are three great eras of Anglo-Irish history: the first was the era of military violence; the second, the era of legal iniquity; the third, the era of religious persecution;—and all three were eras of spoliation. The first has been sketched; we have entered midway upon the second; the third is now to be opened.

While the length and breadth of the land were being thickly sown with the seeds of insurrection, as described in the preceding chapter, the arrows of oppression were directed with a keen aim into the tenderest parts of the social system. Hitherto the never-ceasing wars of Ireland had been principally carried on between antagonistic races. A new venom was now infused into their hostility by the fury of antagonistic religions. The paramount cause of national discontent had been English aggression and domination. That was now aggravated by the introduction of a new form of divine worship, set up and maintained upon the principle of depriving every

man, who chose not to kneel before it, of all his civil rights and property. Hitherto the hatred of the mixed inhabitants had been strong, because they belonged to different countries, —henceforward their hatred became deadly, because they were bred to different creeds.

From the invasion of Henry II. to the reign of Henry VIII., the church in Ireland seldom interfered with politics, and obtained but little influence in public or private affairs. Where the sword was always drawn, neither room nor time was given to erect the crosier. To this circumstance, unquestionably, we are to ascribe the infrequency of the attempts made by the church to subject both the government and the governed to the awful visitations of ecclesiastical despotism. The little that was done in this respect, however, was sufficiently marked in its character to call for a brief notice of the proceedings here.

Comyn, an Englishman, who succeeded Archbishop Lawrence O'Toole in the see of Dublin, launched the first bolts of the thunder. He laid claim to extensive lands, of which Lawrence had obtained a confirmation, as it was termed, from the Pope. But this title to property had not been recognised by Henry II., and it was now resisted by Hamo de Valois, the lord deputy, under whom Comyn sought to enforce it. Finding the governor resolute, the archbishop confounded the civil authorities generally by the paralyzing force of ecclesiastical power. He excommunicated the lord deputy and council, and interdicted the celebration of all religious ceremonies in Dublin, and throughout his diocese. The crucifix in every church was laid prostrate on the ground, and the image upon it crowned with thorns. At one time Comyn appears to have fled; but whether from the fear of personal danger, or a wish to strengthen the cause of the church by agitating its interests on the Continent, is not clearly stated. Ere long, the horror produced by the exhibitions he ordered, and by their attendant deprivations, gave victory to the church. De Valois was compelled to yield, and atoned for his offence by adding to the property which he had vainly tried to curtail. He is re-

corded as the donor of twenty plough lands to the see of Dublin.

Comyn was the first archbishop of Dublin who sat in the parliament or council of Ireland, to which he became entitled by a grant from the beardless boy, lord of Ireland, John, of the lands of Coillagh and its appurtenances in barony tenure. With him, therefore, began the union of church and state in Ireland. His example in making temporal use of religious weapons was emulated by his successor, Henry de Londres, another Englishman. The clergy in Dublin had been in the habit of soliciting fees, which were called oblations of the faithful. They became heavy, and were resisted by the citizens. The clergy carried their claims before the municipal magistrates, who rejected them. For this act the magistrates were excommunicated by Archbishop de Londres, and the service of religion interdicted throughout the city. The citizens appealed to the lord deputy, and the cause received a formal hearing before the council. Here the clergy reaped only a partial triumph. The dispute was compounded. It was agreed, that in cases of open scandal, and opposition to the priesthood, a commutation in money should be made for the first offence; that for the second the culprit should be cudgelled round the parish church; that for the third the same discipline should be repeated publicly, at the head of a procession; and if still obstinate, that the offender should be either disfranchised or cudgelled through the city.

Mulloy, bishop of Ferns, furnished a stronger proof of the spirit by which the church was then animated. He had excommunicated the great earl of Pembroke for seizing two manors belonging to the see of Ferns, and upon the death of that nobleman, appeared before Henry III. to claim them back. It was agreed that he should first pronounce absolution at the earl's tomb. Thither he attended the king in a solemn procession, and pronounced these words:—"O William, thou that liest fast bound in the chains of excommunication, if what thou hast injuriously taken away be restored, by the king, or thy heir, or any of thy friends, with

competent satisfaction, I absolve thee. Otherwise I ratify the sentence, that, being bound in thy sins, thou mayest remain damned in hell for ever." The heir, as we are told, not deeming this an absolution, refused to surrender the disputed manors, and the bishop did not retract his malediction. Soon after the Earls Marshal became extinct, and the vulgar belief prevailed that they had died off, because the curse of the church lay upon them.

Another view of the ecclesiastical character was exposed, according to Leland, in the year 1276, by Margaret le Blonde, a widow, at Cashel, who petitions the king against David Mac Carwill, bishop of that see, for withholding from her an inheritance she had recovered before the king's judges at Clonmel. "Item. For the imprisonment of her grandfather and grandmother, whom he shut up and detained in prison until they perished by famine, because they sought redress for the death of their son, father of your petitioner, who had been killed by the said bishop. Item. For the death of her six brothers and sisters, who were starved by the said bishop, because he had their inheritance in his hands, at the time he killed their father. It is to be noted that the said bishop has built an abbey in the city of Cashel, which he fills with robbers, who murder the English and lay waste the country; and when our lord the king's council examine into such offences, he passes sentence of excommunication upon them. Item. It is to be noted, that the said Margaret has five times crossed the Irish Sea. Wherefore she petitions for God's sake that the king's grace will have compassion, and that she may be permitted to take possession of her inheritance. It is further to be noted, that the aforesaid bishop has been guilty of the death of many other Englishmen besides her father; and that the said Margaret has many times obtained writs of our lord the king, but to no effect, by reason of the influence and bribery of the said bishop."

The cases here cited would seem to indicate that the Irish as well as the English portion of the hierarchy deserves to be included in the censures justly applicable to all proceedings of

this kind. It is therefore proper to observe that the practice was introduced by the English, who began to engross to themselves almost all the higher preferments of the Irish church immediately after the invasion. Naturally disliking and condemning the growing custom of placing Englishmen in the most important sees, and the richest abbacies, the Irish priests resolved, in the year 1250, that no clerk of the English nation should be admitted by them to canonical orders. We are assured that they acted upon this bold resolution for a time. But the united influence of the Pope and the king of England was brought to bear against their efforts, and they were constrained to smother the aspiration for independence, and abandon the full patronage of their church to the English crown. The church thenceforward stood in a submissive relation to the state.

The rigour of the iron rule inflicted by the English barons upon the country was mainly rendered fixed and inflexible by the complete subserviency of the church to its projects and excesses. In England, as on the Continent, the ecclesiastical authority, by a merciful dispensation in the order of things, tended to lighten the pressure of the feudal power. While fastening the rivets of its own imperious dominion, it often blunted and turned aside the sharp edge of the conquering sword. By a policy, subtle no doubt in its nature, yet humane in its effects, the church raised the common people to be a means of humbling their oppressors and its antagonists. In the great struggle for arbitrary power which was maintained during the middle ages between the church and the aristocracy, the lower orders gradually acquired improvement and elevation, until they at last became strong enough to fling off, in various places, both yokes together. But the state of Ireland —always anomalous—is in this respect, also, an exception to the general experience. In that country, from the first descent of the invaders, the crosier was borne humbly in the track of the sword. There the grace, consolation, and happiness, and all the blessings which the church professed to call down from heaven, were proudly lavished upon the victorious

soldier; while the wrath of God, awfully wrapped in the thunders of excommunication, was launched with fury upon the distracted ranks of a wronged and prostrate people.

To the few recorded instances in which the church of Ireland made a characteristic attempt to carry the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts above the civil authorities, we have now to add the greatest that occurred, and it will be seen that an Englishman was its hardy hero. The circumstances have more than one claim upon our attention.

There lived in the city of Kilkenny, about the year 1325, according to John Clyn, who was then a friar in the town, Dame Alice Kyteler, a lady of good fortune and family, who fell under a suspicion of enchantment and witchcraft. Of this imputed offence she was cited to purge herself, with two familiars, named Petronella and Basil, by John de Ledred, bishop of Ossory, in the ecclesiastical courts of his diocese. It is the worst feature of all cases of this kind, that the ignorance they betray in the accuser is of a character much more grave in itself and injurious to society than we can discover in the accused. The punishment of witchcraft by penal enactments promoted, in an eminent degree, the gross evil it desired to extirpate. For it took for granted the truth of the charge preferred, and thus afforded the most public proof attainable of the reality of powers which, in point of fact, were impossible. When the offender was found guilty, not because he was an impostor, but because the mysterious arts triumphed in which he affected to deal, learning and religion were equally brought into contempt; for they were made to declare that the abominations so energetically denounced by them were to be practised with success by any persons bold enough to risk the consequences of the crime.

In the indictment against Lady Alice, the rudest absurdities were mixed up with imputations of disgusting depravity. It was said that she was enamoured of a sort of demon, named Robin Artison, and was in the habit, towards the hour of twilight, of going through Kilkenny and sweeping the dirt of the streets to her son's door, muttering all the way this doggrel

couplet, probably meant to be nothing more than a rude hint of the value of manure in agricultural occupations—

> "To the house of William my son,
> Hie all the wealth of Kilkenny Town."

After this labour of maternal love, she repaired to a certain cross road, and summoned Robin to an assignation, by sacrificing to him nine red cocks and nine peacocks' eyes. He came, and a criminal intercourse followed, after which Lady Alice and her demon lover mounted on a broomstick, after the old fashion, and rode through the air! So circumstantially were all these odious follies put together, that the very broomstick upon which the excursions were said to have been taken was produced in court, and with it a pot of charmed ointment, used to grease the stick, in order to make it bear the weight of its riders! A sacramental wafer was also found, which, instead of the usual initials, J. H. S., was stamped with the devil's cipher. Two trials were instituted upon this evidence. At the first, the parties abjured the errors imputed to them, and submitted to penance. At the second, Lady Alice and her attendant Petronella were found guilty and burned at the stake. According to Friar Clyn, this was the first capital execution of the kind which took place in Ireland.

As one excess usually propagates another, it was next asserted that Petronella, in her agony, had denounced her mistress's son, William Outlaw, as an accomplice in her crimes. Violent hands were consequently laid upon this person; he was placed in solitary confinement, and subjected to severe restrictions, his keepers being forbidden to speak to him, except once a day, when they were allowed to bring him food. He, too, would in all probability have undergone the fate his mother suffered, had not Lord Arnold le Poer, seneschal of Kilkenny, who was connected with him by marriage, interfered, and, at the end of nine weeks, insisted upon his release.*

* He seems nevertheless to have been taken again, and, after many trying negotiations and humiliating apologies, to have obtained his liberty, upon undertaking to cover the roof of the cathedral, from the belfry to

For this disloyalty to the church, Ledred, who was determined to vindicate his authority at all hazard, took immediate proceedings. He excommunicated him for heresy, and then issuing a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, committed him to prison in Dublin. A fierce collision between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities now ensued, and for a length of time so distracted the whole country as to put a stop to the ordinary course of government. The public voice proclaimed Lord Arnold innocent, and the lord justice, who was William Outlaw's uncle, assuming that he really was so, ordered him to be treated with humanity in his confinement. At this, Ledred, whose pretensions rose with the occasion, turned quickly upon the nobler quarry, and lodged a formal accusation against the lord justice, for aiding and advising a condemned heretic. This extraordinary accusation against a person filling such an office, appears to have been prosecuted with rigorous formality, although the business of the state stood suspended, and the parliament, which was then sitting, was rendered incapable of continuing its proceedings, the lord deputy being lord chancellor also. The trial was tediously protracted for a length of time. Before it was brought to a close, another victim fell to the church;—Lord Arnold le Poer, unequal to the persecution levelled against him, expired in his dungeon in the round tower of Dublin Castle; and the church, as unjust as it was cruel, for a long time denied Christian burial to his remains—because, as it was asserted, he died unassoiled. The argument upon which this indignity rested was peculiarly tyrannical—it first cut off the living man from the rites of the church, and then insulted his dead body, because by the act of the church itself he was out of the pale of its communion.

Not the least singular circumstance connected with this contest is the fact, that the lord deputy was himself a church-

the Virgin Mary's Chapel, with lead. He was a man of wealth, a money-lender, and well connected with the leading families in the district, where his mother contracted no less than four marriages; first, with his father, also a money-lender; next with Adam le Blound or White of Callan; then with Richard de Valle or Wall, probably of Coolnamuck, near Carrick on Suir; and lastly, with John le Poer.—*Wright's Narrative of Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler, printed by the Camden Society.*

man. His name was Roger Outlaw; he was prior of Kilmainham, and, as already stated, William Outlaw's uncle—a man of ability, who, notwithstanding his religious vocation, now discharged his duty fearlessly to the state. By this he rendered himself the more obnoxious to clerical censure; and Ireland, at Ledred's instance, exhibited the unusual spectacle of the king's deputy, himself an eminent ecclesiastic, arraigned on a charge of heresy that affected his life.

Fortunately for the country, the antagonists were well matched. Roger Outlaw met his accuser promptly. He called for an investigation; and the privy council, concurring in the reasonableness of his proposal, issued a proclamation for three days, by which freedom, protection, and safety were accorded to all persons coming forward to prosecute. But Ledred was detained at Kilkenny, and no one appeared to sustain his charge. Roger next solicited the king's writ, convening a sort of parliament, consisting of peers, bishops, abbots, priors, the mayors of Cork, Limerick, and Waterford; the sheriffs, seneschals, and knights of shires, with the freemen of Dublin. Before this body the lord deputy presented himself, and asserted that in the part he had acted he had only afforded due protection to an individual oppressed by partiality and injustice, inasmuch as the bishop's proceedings against Lord Arnold had originated and been prosecuted to favour a kinsman who had quarrelled with his lordship. A committee of six members, whose names and stations have been preserved,—Wm. Rodyeard, dean of St. Patrick's; the abbots of St. Thomas and St. Mary's; the prior of Christchurch; Mr. Elias Lawless, and Mr. Peter Willeby,—were appointed to investigate the affair; and after examining apart the witnesses summoned before them, affirmed upon their oaths that the lord justice was orthodox, and a zealous champion of the faith, which he was ready to defend with his life. Upon this report he was solemnly acquitted, and celebrated the event by a sumptuous banquet, to which all comers were liberally made welcome.

But the churchman never yields. Rome was still open; and Ledred, though defeated by this verdict, determined to perse-

vere, and would doubtless have still further troubled the kingdom, had not the whole community as well as the government been strongly opposed to his pretensions. It is no mean evidence of the good sense of the people of Ireland at this period, that all ranks concurred in condemning the bishop. At an early stage of the proceedings, public indignation ran so strongly against him, that the inhabitants of Kilkenny rose in a body, and for a term of seventeen days kept him a close prisoner in his house. Before his intention of appealing to Rome could be carried into effect, his own conduct became the subject of criminal investigation, and he was accused in his turn. Alexander Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin, cited him by letters patent in Chancery to appear and answer charges of notorious heresy. Ledred sheltered himself under his appeal, probably about 1329,—inasmuch as Edward III. wrote to Rome, in the month of June in the following year, warning the Pope and cardinals against Ledred's suggestions; and asserting that, instead of standing a trial for his demerits, he had privately fled the country. Another letter from the king, in 1331, maintained that Ledred, conscious of guilt, had declined an inquiry into his conduct. Upon his departure, the revenues of his bishopric were seized—a moderate punishment for the mischief he had wrought, and was so anxious to extend; but in the year last mentioned a writ issued for his restitution, upon the condition of his submitting in person to the king, and answering the offences objected to him at home. Whether he submitted immediately, and if so, how he fared upon his trial, are points at this distance of time no longer determinable. That he really came to terms with the king, in 1339, at farthest, appears by a writ addressed in that year to Bishop Charlton, lord justice and chancellor, which revoked the preceding orders for his arrest, upon the special grounds of the unlawfulness, according to the canons, of such a proceeding against a bishop; and also because Ledred had diligently prosecuted his appeal to the Holy See.

Matters, nevertheless, do not appear to have proceeded amicably; for in 1347 or 1348, according to Friar Clyn,

having returned to his bishopric, after nine years of exile, he was exempted by the court of Rome from the jurisdiction of Archbishop Bicknor, who, as he complained, subjected him to excessively harsh treatment, and notoriously favoured heretics. In 1351 Bicknor died, and Clement V. restored the diocese of Ossory to the ecclesiastical authority of the archbishop of Dublin.

Adversity appears to have had no chastening influence upon Bishop Ledred. Throughout the incidents already narrated we descry the temper and spirit of an arrogant and obdurate churchman: in his subsequent career we trace the acts and character of a depraved and lawless man. In 1349 his temporalities were again confiscated, upon substantial imputations of graver guilt than had previously been laid to his charge. He was indicted for obstructing the king's business, by excommunicating William Bromley, the treasurer, while collecting the king's debts in Kilkenny; and for abusing the chief justice of the Common Pleas on the bench, by telling him insolently to his face that he was a traitor, and had given false counsel respecting him to the lord justice. Proceeding in this unmeasured career, he appears to have prosecuted his ancient animosity to the family of Poer in outrageous crimes. He was tried as the accomplice of Thomas Fitzgilbert in plundering and setting fire to the castle of Moycobar, and slaying Hugh le Poer, to whom it belonged. Against the consequences of this outrage he pleaded the king's pardon for all homicides, felonies, thefts, robberies, and conspiracies—a startling catalogue of crimes for a Christian bishop to purge himself of. The pardon was admitted at first, but afterwards declared void, because it had been surreptitiously obtained. Nevertheless Ledred retained his see, and, in the end, retrieved his character to some extent. In process of time the storms in which he made so turbulent a figure blew over; and, as old age composed his passions, he became a quiet benefactor of the church: thus adding another to the many instances the history of his religion exhibits, of men of uncontrolled temper and most turbulent conduct, assuming, in advanced life, a new

nature, and becoming eminent for tranquil and meritorious piety. He beautified his cathedral—rebuilt the episcopal palace—not, however, without circumstances of characteristic violence—having demolished three churches to find materials for the improvement. He augmented the revenues of the vicar's church, erected an altar-piece in the cathedral, which he dedicated to the three saints whose churches he had pulled down; and, after holding his see for 42 years, died at an advanced age, in 1360, and was buried at the gospel side of the altar of his own cathedral.*

Such was the varied life of John Ledred, bishop of Ossory. Had the efforts he made to render the church paramount been successful, the bold barons would doubtless have found as severe antagonists in successive prelates; and those phases of obscurity and misfortune would have been sooner passed in Ireland which the progress of political improvement seems to render necessary in most countries. As it was, the church was defeated—a martial aristocracy resumed its sway —and the flood of Irish affairs flowed on as turbulently as ever in the old rude channels.

There is one instance more to be quoted, antecedent to the Reformation, in which the church appears to have made use of the civil power as the instrument of its vengeance in punishing offences offered to its members. This was the case of Sir Thomas Bath, lord of Louth, which, in the year 1459, formed the grounds of an act of the parliament, passed at Drogheda, and quoted in the notes of Mr. Wright's Narrative of the Proceedings against Dame Kyteler, published by the Camden Society. Sir Thomas had accused a priest, named John Stackbolt, of treason. The priest was acquitted, after which Bath robbed and plundered him so much, that the bishop of Meath, in obedience to the Pope's command, excommunicated the hardy knight, desiring that no baptism or burial should be had, and no mass sung for three days in any town visited by him. This proceeding exasperated instead of subduing Sir Thomas, whose servants seized

* Harris's Ware, vol. i. pp. 399-409, *et infra.*

upon the priest in the church of Navan, and carrying him to prison, cut out, it was said, his tongue, and put out his eyes. He was then, according to the statute, taken back to the church, and being cast before our Blessed Lady, was, by her grace, restored his sight and tongue! To provide condign punishment for the outrage which occasioned this miracle, and to deter others from offending against the church and its ministers, laws, or liberties, it was ordained that Lord Louth should never hold any place or office in parliament. This sentence of disqualification apparently took effect, for in the subsequent rolls and records he is described as "late Lord Louth."

Except in the instances here recapitulated, the church does not stand conspicuously forward in Irish politics during the period intervening between the invasion and the epoch of the Reformation. The number of those instances assists us in measuring the extent of the influence possessed by the clergy in state affairs. As to the condition of religion, no intelligent reader can require to be told that it must have been deplorable. The history of the connection between England and Ireland forms an unbroken chain of sanguinary commotions and violent injustice, from which it necessarily follows that religion may have existed, but could not possibly have flourished under it. The highest offices in the church, as in the state, being awarded to the favourites of the English court, the natural action of the power inherent in the ecclesiastical body was interrupted and neutralised by the frequent introduction of new men, who were generally impelled by selfish motives, and alive to no sympathies with the people whose welfare they were appointed to promote. Under the Tudors they were pressed, not unwillingly, into the military service of the government. The archbishop of Armagh sent 16, and the archbishop of Dublin 20, able archers or gunners, appointed for war, to the musters or expeditions, which were then called hostings. It is unnecessary to point out how these duties must have relaxed the hold which a common form of divine worship gave the hierarchy over the hearts of their flocks.

When that form ceased to be one and the same, the hold was necessarily lost altogether.

Looking at the Reformation in Ireland as a political innovation, we are forcibly struck by the ignorance displayed in trying the experiment; and this remark does not apply to the intemperate acts of Henry VIII. alone, but equally to the more matured exertions of Elizabeth, Edward VI., and James I. It seems not to have struck the propagators of the new mode, that the circumstances of the two countries were essentially different. The English people were, to a certain extent, prepared for such a change, the Irish not in the least. In England it was more or less universally understood, by the adoption of the mother tongue in all the offices of the church. In Ireland the English language was not spoken by the priesthood in three out of the four provinces of the kingdom.

Partial writers lay stress upon the fact, that most of the Irish clergy conformed to the mandates of Henry VIII., and that for a time the parish churches were well frequented. But there does not appear sufficient evidence to show that this practice prevailed beyond the narrow limits of the Pale; and even there it is proper to observe, that for some years the new establishment was only placed upon such a basis as that still occupied by the Greek church. The Greeks, who say mass in the mother tongue, and deny the supremacy of the Pope, are held to be schismatics, but not heretics, by the church of Rome. Moreover, schism does not exclude salvation; whereas heresy does. This distinction will be found useful as a test of the correctness of many inferences sought to be drawn down to the present day, from the partial submission of the Irish clergy to the novelties imposed upon them by Henry VIII.

The truth is, that from the very beginning each form of worship had its champion; and English and Irish took opposite sides of the question. While Browne, archbishop of Dublin, and an Englishman, strove, according to his own report, to bring the nobility and gentry to due obedience, by accepting Henry as their supreme lord, as well spiritual as temporal; his

brother Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh, and an Irishman, called his suffragans and clergy around him in his diocese, and insisted that Ireland, the *Insula Sacra*, belonged to none but the Pope of Rome.

The first statute by which the reformed doctrine was propagated in Ireland, was passed in the year 1536, while Lord Leonard Grey was chief governor. It pronounced the king supreme head of the church of Ireland, vested first fruits in him, and punished appeals to Rome with the penalties of præmunire. At the same time the oath of supremacy was required from every person in office, and the refusal to swear it was declared high treason.

These were the principal enactments of Henry VIII. in Ireland; and it is manifest that, with the exception of putting himself in the Pope's place, he preserved all the essential doctrines of the Roman Catholic church. This appears plain in the extreme upon the face of the instructions printed in the state papers, which were drawn up by Archbishop Browne, and sent round to the incumbents and curates of the diocese of Dublin. In these the powers of the Pope, of his bulls, and his letters of pardon and excommunication, are emphatically denounced and set at nought; but prayers for the universal church, quick and dead, and for the souls of the faithful departed, are inculcated in the strongest and most earnest terms; while confession and the real presence are left, as of old, in the plenitude of undisputed authority.

These points are only dwelt on here as exponents of historical truth; and they are called for, because, day after day, one bold writer succeeds another in asserting that the Protestant established church of England was embraced by the Irish nation. What the Protestantism of this period was, is set forth in the well known statute of the Six Articles, which condemned every one to be hung or burned at the stake, who,

1. Denied transubstantiation;

2. Maintained that communion in both kinds was necessary;

3. Or that priests might lawfully marry;

4. Or that vows of charity might be broken ;
5. Or that private masses are unprofitable ;
6. Or that auricular confession may be dispensed with.

After this recapitulation of the introduction of the Reformation into Ireland, it is hardly necessary to repeat the observation already made—that we have no evidence of its having been accepted by the clergy throughout the country ; and that even if we had, the acceptance of doctrines such as these would afford no proof of a change in the religious tenets of the clergy or their flocks : in short, the royal founder of English Protestantism appears to have been essentially, and in all but the name, a Roman Catholic.

When that religious reformer made himself king of Ireland and supreme head of its church by the same process, he obtained the two titles, and the powers, civil and religious, conveyed with them, by physical force. At first the Anglo-Irish lords and native chieftains were induced to profess their double loyalty with equal readiness. Whenever an outbreak was followed by peace or pardon, the one condition of grace was coupled with the other, and admitted of necessity. Thus, when Desmond renewed his allegiance, he " utterly denied and promised to forsake the usurped primacy and authority of the bishop of Rome." Similar pledges were soon after given by De Burg and a host of native leaders ; by O'Connor, O'Donnel, Macmahon, O'Brien, O'More, O'Rorke, and Macdonnell. This was a suspicious unanimity, and too much resembled the original submission to the pretensions of Henry II. to be depended upon. The strong probability seems to be that the subscribing parties in these respective cases were imperfectly informed respecting the religious portion of their contract. They would fully understand the terms relating to their temporal interests, and yielded the addition as an unexplained matter of form, to which no substantive consequences were attached. This appears to be the inference naturally deducible from the state of the public knowledge at the period, and from the tenor of all the instruments, which uniformly began by reciting Henry's title as king, and

ended by asserting his pretensions to be head of the church also. Cox quotes the form of indenture used on these occasions, from the council book of Dublin Castle. "They and each of them do and doth acknowledge the king's majesty aforesaid to be their natural liege lord, and will honour, obey, and serve him, and the kings his successors, as the supreme head on earth, immediately under Christ, of the church of England and Ireland, &c.; and, as far as lieth in their power, jointly and separately, they will annihilate the usurped primacy and authority of the bishop of Rome; and will expel and eradicate all his favourers, abettors, and partizans; and maintain, support, and defend all persons, spiritual and temporal, who shall be promoted to church benefices or dignities by the king's majesty or other rightful patron; and will apprehend and bring to justice, to be tried according to the laws made, or to be made in such behalf, all who apply for provision to the bishop of Rome, or who betake themselves to Rome in quest of promotion."

It was not conviction, then, but policy that led to this outward conformity with the new doctrines; and accordingly, as our preceding narrative will have explained, each lord and chieftain, when driven to take up arms against the royal authority, fell back at the same time upon the Pope, by a natural movement. This was a necessary consequence of the forced union attempted between religion and loyalty: when a man changed his politics, he changed his creed also.

We find the strictly temporal character of the Reformation demonstrated at its commencement by a variety of circumstances. Wherever the authority of government prevailed, the clergy adopted the prescribed formalities. "I deny not," said Father Parsons, replying to Sir Ed. Coke, "but that many throughout the realm, though otherwise Catholics in heart, as most of them were, did, at that time and after, as also now, either from fear or lack of better instructing, or both, repair to Protestant churches." But this facile admission of the Reformation could not possibly be general; and the writers who represent the fact, such as it was, as a proof that the

whole nation had suddenly adhered to the established church, reduce the argument to an absurdity. For the great mass of the people spoke no language but the Irish: they must, therefore, if present when divine service was celebrated in the English tongue, have occupied their minds, as they do to this day, while mass is said in Latin, by repeating suitable Roman Catholic prayers and professions of faith in their accustomed forms.

Is it not, then, idle in the extreme to contend that the assembling of the uneducated masses, under such circumstances, at the only places of worship to which for some years they could have resorted, affords a proof that they either understood or accepted the reformed dogmas? And is it not equally clear, that as a political enactment, the Reformation in Ireland was a gross blunder? For how did it proceed? With a view of facilitating a change of opinions in religion, it was ordered by act of parliament, that the people should abandon all their old habits and peculiarities. Not only the Irish dress, but even the Irish cut of the hair, was abolished by special enactment. By the same statute, 28 Henry VIII. cap. XV., it was provided that ecclesiastical preferments should be given to those who spoke the English language, and "to none other!" The intention of the law in this instance may have been good; but its direct application was absurd. Preached in one language, the congregation might have comprehended the reformed doctrines; but here was an act of parliament, binding the clergy by the solemnity of an oath, to propound them, not in that, but in another tongue, which nothing short of a miracle could enable the people to understand.

From one solecism the legislature proceeded to another. The statute 2 Elizabeth, cap. XIII., after reciting that English ministers cannot be found to serve in Irish churches; that the Irish people do not understand the English tongue; that the church service cannot be celebrated in Irish, as much because it is difficult to get it printed, as because few in the whole realm can read it, enacts—"that in every church where the commons minister has not the use of the English tongue,

it shall be lawful for him to say and use all their common and open prayer in 'Latin'"—"a language," as Lord Clare pointedly observed in his celebrated speech on the Union, "as unintelligible to the congregation as the English."

The Protestant church of Ireland as originally founded was independent of the church of England. It was at first deemed wise to have a separate establishment for the ministration of religion, as well as for the civil and executive government of the country. In 1618, a convocation was called, and the public confession of its faith framed for the new church, in 104 articles, which were drawn up by Dr. James Usher. These have been censured for their Calvinistic tendencies, and also because they included the nine articles agreed to at Lambeth, in 1595, but subsequently disapproved of by Elizabeth and James. While thus governed, the Protestant church of Ireland was not exempt from the reproach of that dogmatical intolerance which seems to be the besetting mischief of all ecclesiastical bodies when possessed of the power to promulgate their opinions *ex cathedrâ*. While the Roman Catholics, on the one hand, received a Bull, in which Pope Urban VIII. averred, that "the oath of supremacy wrested the sceptre of the Catholic church from the hand of the Almighty;" the Protestants, on the other side, were assured, in a formal proclamation from their bishops, that all who tolerated popery committed "a grievous sin, and rendered themselves accessory to idolatry, abomination, and the perdition of souls which perished in the deluge of Catholic apostacy." But the independence of the Irish Protestant church was considered a political oversight in England, and was soon extinguished. Archbishop Laud deemed it an important thing to identify the two powers; and being seconded in his views by Wentworth, the measure was carried, much to the dislike of the Irish clergy. In order to reconcile Usher, whose opposition, if actively exerted, might have endangered the whole proceeding, it was agreed that his former articles promulgated under the great seal should not be formally abrogated, but virtually superseded by a selection of such of the English

Canons as were judged most suitable to form a code for regulating the discipline of the Irish church. That selection accordingly having been made, the alliance between the two churches was voted by the Convocation with only one dissentient voice, intended as a record of Usher's dissent from the act.

While the wisdom of the legislature was employed in recommending the new church to the people, by the methods already described, the king, the great lords and landowners, together with all men in office, were still more actively engaged in pursuits which necessarily deprived the establishment of the smallest claims to veneration or respect. The confiscation of the monasteries was followed by a wholesale appropriation of the tithes of the secular clergy. The clerical office was reduced to so degraded a level, that the bishops were ordered by act of parliament to appoint to vacant livings any fluent Englishman in preference to an Irishman, however well qualified. This fact is exposed, as well as the general state of the "reformed church"—how much of irony lurks in the phrase—by Spenser, who says—"Whatever disorders you find in the church of England, ye find these and many more; they have their particular enormities, for all Irish priests which now enjoy the church livings, are in a manner mere laymen, and follow all kinds of husbandry and other worldly affairs; they neither read Scripture, nor preach, nor administer the communion." * * * "The clergy there," he adds, "(except the grave fathers which are in high places about the state, and some few others lately planted in their new college) are generally bad, licentious, and disordered." * * * "Any Englishman," he adds, "of good conversation, being brought to the bishop, should be nominated to a vacant living before any Irishman; but though well intended, little was wrought by it, for there were not sufficient English sent over, but the most part of such as came over of themselves are either unlearned or men of bad note, for which they have forsaken England: or the bishop being Irish rejects him, or if good he carries a hard hand over him, so that he soon wearies of his poor living.

And, lastly, the benefices are so mean here, and of so small profit in those Irish countries, through the ill husbandry of the Irish, that they will not yield any competent maintenance for any honest minister to live upon." * * * "Even were all this redressed," he proceeds, "what good could any minister do amongst them, who either cannot understand him, or will not hear him? or how dare any honest minister commit his safety to the hands of such neighbours as the boldest captain dare scarcely dwell by?"

The practices of the Protestants to render their religion popular and efficient during the reign of James I., are minutely detailed upon the authority of the king himself, and of Carte, the historian. James tells us that he found the estate of the bishoprics in Ulster much entangled, and altogether unprofitable to the bishops, partly by the challenge which the late temporal Irish lords made to the church's patrimony within their countries, hereby to discourage all men of worth and learning, through want of maintenance, to undertake the care of those places, and to continue the people in ignorance and barbarism, the more easily to lead them into their own measures; and partly by the claims of patentees, who, under colour of abbey and escheated lands, passed by patent many of the church lands, not excepting even the site of cathedral churches, and the places of residence of bishops, deans, and canons, to the great prejudice and decay of religion, and the frustrating his religious intent for the good government and reformation of those parts.

Nor were the parochial churches (continues Carte) in a better condition than the cathedrals: they had most of them been destroyed in the troubles, or fallen down for want of covering; the livings were very small, and either kept in the bishop's hands, by way of commendams and sequestrations, or else filled with ministers as scandalous as their incomes, so that scarce any care was taken to catechise children, or instruct others in the ground of religion; and for years together divine service had not been used in any parish church throughout Ulster, except in some principal towns.

Carte must still be one of our witnesses to show that matters did not mend under Charles I. :—"It was at this time in a deplorable condition; the cathedrals in many places destroyed; the parish churches nearly ruined, unroofed, or unrepaired; the houses of the clergy left desolate, and their possessions alienated during the wars and confusions of former times,—most of the tithes had been appropriated, or sold to private persons and made lay fees. In some dioceses there was scarce a living left that was not farmed out to the patron at two, three, or four pounds a year for a long time,—three lives, or 100 years. The vicarages were for the most part stipendiary, and their stipends so miserably sordid, that in the whole province of Connaught there was scarce a vicar's pension which exceeded 40*s*. a year, and in many places they were but 16*s*. The bishoprics themselves, though many in number, yet but of small revenue; having the greatest part of them been depauperated in the change of religion by absolute grants and long leases, (made generally by the Popish bishops that conformed,) were some of them not able to maintain a bishop. Several were by these means reduced to £50 a year, as Waterford, Kilfenora, and others; and some to five marks, as Cloyne and Macduagh. And as scandalous livings naturally make scandalous ministers, the clergy of the established church were generally ignorant and unlearned, loose and irregular in their lives and conversations, negligent of their cures, and very careless of observing uniformity and decency in divine worship, in a country where they were endangered on the one hand by an infinite number of obstinate recusants, and on the other hand by a shoal of factious and irregular puritans brought out of Scotland, who offered daily insults to the established church government, and treated the rites of administering the sacraments with insufferable contempt."

The letters of Wentworth, Lord Strafford, while lord lieutenant, abound with passages which confirm in the strongest terms the accuracy of the account given by Carte. He writes of "an unlearned clergy, which have not so much as the outward form of churchmen; the churches unbuilt; the parsonage and

vicarage houses utterly ruined; the people untaught through the non-residency of the clergy, occasioned by the unlimited shameful number of spiritual promotions with cure of souls; the rites and ceremonies of the church run over without all decency of habit, order, or gravity; the possessions of the church, to a great proportion, in lay hands, the bishops alienating their very principal houses and demesnes to children and to strangers."

The aristocracy as usual helped themselves largely to these estates and profits. The earl of Westmeath, an impropriator to a considerable amount, in one instance locked the clergyman out of the church, and put the key in his pocket—a piece of practical honesty which perhaps deserves a compliment: having taken care that there should be nothing to pay, he provided effectually that there should be nothing to do. Wentworth has a passage descriptive of the conduct of another nobleman:—"Just at this moment I am informed that my Lord Clanrickard hath engrossed as many parsonages and vicarages, as he hath mortgaged for £4,000 fine, and £80 rent; but in faith have at him and all the rest of the ravens. I spare no man among them, let no man spare me. Howbeit, I foresee that this is so universal a disease, that I shall incur a number of men's displeasure, of the best rank among them." In a third letter he says—"It is no longer since than this term, a poor vicar was restored to an impropriation and two vicarages usurped these 30 years and better by the earl of Cork, and considering the usurpations upon the church have been a contagion so universally spread throughout the kingdom, as hardly can a jury be got but where a great (if not the greatest) number would feel themselves interested in the question; such a desolation have these wars brought upon God's portion."

Another extract from these letters will render the case complete, by showing that the heads of the church were as guilty at this period in misapplying its revenues as the laymen:—"I have sent for the archbishop of Cashel; but his grace returns, he is ill of the sciatica, and not able to travel; likes not, I believe, to come to a reckoning, but I have writ

his answer. In good faith, my lord, his grace hath beguiled me, and keeps his 16 vicarages still, but I will roundly prepare him for a purge so soon as I see him."

Having thus far presented, for the sake of a continuous narrative, an outline of the manner in which the Reformation was carried, if not into popular, at least into legal use in Ireland; we have now to point out some under-currents in a better direction, by which the main stream of events was accompanied. The measure itself—essentially religious—was always treated politically by the English statesmen, who for many years laboured assiduously to ensure the salvation of souls by act of parliament. Their attempts failed as much by the force of their own mistakes as the abuses of their followers. They established the church by law, but it was a church without a congregation—the church of the conqueror and the persecutor, and as such avoided and abhorred by the people. There is room for an opinion that the sequel might have been different, in many respects, if some of the higher and purer views entertained upon the subject in a few quarters, had not been feebly advocated and quickly lost sight of, by the majority of those who had the power to give them due effect. We are bound to take notice of these, as well because they are the only sound portions of an abortive undertaking, as because they prove to us but too plainly, that the English government in Ireland, upon ecclesiastical as well as civil matters, took the motto of their actions from the Latin poet:—

"video meliora, proboque
Deteriora sequor."

It would, indeed, be melancholy if our knowledge of the period furnished us with no evidence of a more enlightened policy and a more religious spirit than we have as yet been able to exhibit. Hitherto the Reformation in Ireland appears to have been rude, corrupt, and every way unworthy of the character of the age for integrity and intelligence. But we find that, although not acted upon, admirable suggestions were occasionally offered by eminent men to guide the government

in framing laws, and to assist its servants in putting them into practice. It is also perfectly true, as several modern writers have insisted, that the Reformation experienced no fair trial in Ireland—almost all the circumstances of the times conspired against it. As an English measure, and the work of government, it was necessarily suspected and disliked. It was introduced with a high hand, and upheld with that proud contempt of the opinions of the majority which too often, even in the present day, marks the conduct of the government when legislating for Ireland. We are not called upon to say what the consequences might have been had the cause been left to natural effects, and to its own merits; but we are bound to observe, that it was enforced by fear and punishment; that it was associated with all that the people had ever regarded as odious, unjust, and tyrannical; and that it was cruelly sustained, like heathenism of old, by persecution. It is still more imperative on us, and also more agreeable, to preserve the emphatic terms in which this false and mischievous policy was condemned by men of the highest authority and the greatest experience. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy, whom we have already quoted upon the same subject, writing to the English council in 1599, said—"Whereas it hath pleased your lordship in your last letters to command us to deal more moderately in the great matter of religion, I had, before the receipt of your lordship's letters, presumed to advise such as dealt in it to hold a more restrained hand therein."

Spenser expressed himself with more eloquence in the same spirit. "In planting of religion," he observed, "thus much is needful to be attended to, that it be not impressed into them with terror and large penalties, as now is the manner; but rather delivered and intimated with mildness and gentleness, so as it may not be hated before it is understood, and its professors despised and rejected." It was in the same strain that the lords of the English privy council addressed the Lord Deputy Chichester, in 1606, when they said—"Conformity must be wrought with time and by the care which you must take to enlarge the passage of God's word, by choice and plan-

tation of sufficient and zealous men to teach and preach the same unto his people, wherein we have more hope of good effects (by the favour of God) than by any sudden and violent course in that kingdom, where the people have so little means as yet to be instructed."

It is doubtless to the reproduction from time to time of passages like these, unaccompanied by a reference to concurrent facts, that we are to attribute the expressions of unqualified approbation which are not infrequently applied, even in the present day, to the Irish administrations of Elizabeth and James I. There are public writers who do not hesitate to describe them as mild and even noble ;—although there was a high commission established in Dublin as early as the year 1593, to inspect and reform all offences against the acts of 2 Elizabeth, for embracing and devoutly observing the order and service of the church established by parliament, or otherwise, (as the word oddly enough is,) for executing all manner of statutes and levying all forfeitures. It is with laws such as these, and others to which we might also refer, before us, that we are invited to believe that there was no religious persecution during these reigns ; and it is in the teeth of specific directions from the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, given five years after the court for enforcing these laws was instituted, "to deal moderately in the matter of religion," that we are assured that these laws were connived at rather than put into execution. Bishop Mant, in his "History of the Established Church in Ireland," is a leader of the modern party, which, taking its cue from Cox, would fain inculcate the opinion that, whatever apparent severity may have marked the laws against the Roman Catholic religion, they were never executed with corresponding strictness. These modified terms will excite surprise when compared with the language repeatedly used by one of the parties referred to. James I. was honest enough to make his temper and disposition upon the subject publicly known. In one of his first proclamations he ordered a general gaol delivery, with a special exception against "murderers and papists." About the same time he convened his council, and assured

them, that "he never had an intention of granting toleration to the papists,"—that "if he thought his son would condescend to any such course, he would wish the kingdom translated to his daughter;" that "the mitigation of the payments of the recusant Catholics was in consideration that not any one of them had lifted up his hand against him, at his coming in; and so he gave them a year of probation to conform themselves: which seeing it had not wrought that effect, he had fortified all the laws against them, and made them stronger, and commanded that they should be put in force to the uttermost." These intentions, Winwood tells us, were further published by the lords in the Star Chamber, and by the recorder of London to the lord mayor and corporation; after which the king sent for the judges, and gave them a strict charge, before they went circuit, to be diligent and severe against recusants, and to execute particularly against them the laws which ordered their banishment or confinement. The plain truth, therefore, is, that authors who represent James I. as not being a persecutor, are to be understood to use that term in a comparative sense. They can only intend to describe him as not having persecuted his conscientious subjects to death. He had a natural aversion to spill blood, and he spared human life. In other respects, his principles and his acts prove him to have been a galling oppressor in the matter of religion.

Amongst the legitimate measures resorted to for introducing the new form of worship, was the establishment of the first and only seat of learning which Ireland owes to England; and yet it is unquestionable that, by making the university of Dublin the keystone of the arch upon which the superstructure of the Protestant church in Ireland was raised, Elizabeth and her ministers impaired the efficiency of that institution in a national point of view—they confined its advantages to a sect. It was nevertheless wisely conceived, and has been, in many essential respects, prosperous, furnishing the church with a well educated and accomplished ministry, and preserving in the country a high standard of classical and scientific attainments. Its condition, order of studies, and

services to the cause of religion and learning, will occupy our attention in another chapter.

We have dwelt upon the ill-advised and arbitrary denunciation of the Irish language in the service of the church, but some more rational opinions prevailed upon that point also. Edward VI. and Lord Chancellor Bacon advised that versions of the service, the Bible, the catechisms, and other books of instruction should be made into the language of the natives. Sir H. Sidney, too, in writing to Elizabeth, expressed himself thus judiciously:—"In choice of ministers for the remote places where the English tongue is not understood, it is most necessary that such be chosen as can speak Irish, for which search should be made first and speedily in your own universities; and any found there well affected in religion, and well conditioned beside, should be animated by your majesty, yea, though it were somewhat to your highness's charge; and on peril of my life, you would find it returned with fame, before three years be expired. If there be no such there, or not enough, then do I wish, (but this most humbly under your highness's correction,) that you would write to the regent of Scotland, where, as I learn, there are many of the reformed church that are of this language, that he would prefer to your highness so many as shall seem good to you to demand, of honest, zealous, and learned men, and that could speak this language; and though for a while your majesty were at some charge, it were well bestowed, for in a short time their own preferments would be able to suffice them, and in the mean time thousands would be gained to Christ that are now left at the worst."

If Elizabeth did not apply for Celtic Protestants in Scotland to proselytize the recusant Catholics of Ireland, she at least adopted the spirit of her lord deputy's suggestions, by sending over, during the thirteenth year of her reign, a fount of Irish types, "in hope that God in his mercy would raise up some to translate the New Testament into their mother tongue." At the same time she directs that the "prayers of the church should be printed in the Irish language and cha-

racter; and that a church should be set apart in the chief town of every diocese, where they are to be read, and a sermon preached to the common people in their own language." James I. adopted these views, insisting "that the simple natives were kept in darkness through want of ministers who could speak their own language, and desiring that a competent number of towardly men, already fitted with the knowledge of the Irish tongue, be placed in the university and maintained there for two or three years till they have learned the ground of religion, and be able to catechise the simple natives."

But although the convocation of 1634 ordained the use of the Irish language in the churches; although the celebrated Robert Boyle expended £700 in printing an edition of the New Testament in Irish during the year 1681, and Bishop Bedell followed with a translation of the Old Testament in 1685; we find the House of Commons resolving, so late as the year 1710, "that it will be requisite that a number of ministers, duly qualified to instruct the natives of this kingdom, and perform the offices of religion to them in their own language, be provided and encouraged by a suitable maintenance."

Such a resolution, passed at this late period, affords the most conclusive proof that the Reformation had made no considerable progress. The cause of this failure has already been suggested: it was twofold—the persecution by which the attempt to establish Protestantism was accompanied, and the shameless plunder of the property of the church by the principal men appointed to induce the people to conform to its doctrines and observances. In this latter respect, the worst enemies of Protestantism in Ireland were the Protestants themselves. For whatever indifference may have been shown by the crown, about this period, to the rights of private property, the estates of the church were in general respected by that authority. The laity invaded them often, compensating for the losses which they were made to endure themselves, by inflicting others upon a clergy destitute of the affection or respect of the community. But the

Tudors and the Stuarts, while violating all other rights and properties, made some marked exceptions in favour of the Reformation in Ireland.

Leland derives from Primate Usher some particulars which are not without interest, respecting the nature and extent of the estates of the church of Ireland at the time of the Reformation, and the manner in which they were preserved at the plantation of Ulster. It had been provided, it seems, in old times, that whoever founded a church should endow it with certain lands for the maintenance of divine worship, and deliver a deed of donation to the bishop before the church was dedicated. Thenceforward the bishop managed and applied the lands, which, in consequence of their being devoted to religious uses, became exempt from all temporal charges and taxes, and entitled to the right of sanctuary and other immunities. They were called Tearmuin or Termon, that is, privileged lands; and were occupied by laymen, both villeins and free tenants, who husbanded them for the church at a profit to themselves and their families. For the receipt and distribution of the rents paid by these ecclesiastical tenants every church had its œconomus or archdeacon, called by the Irish, Eireinneach or Herenach. These ancient archidiaconi were inferior to the presbyteri, and are to be distinguished from the archdeacons of high rank who exercise jurisdiction under the bishop. Of these inferior stewards, each diocese had an appointed number.

The herenachs, again, were superintended by an officer called Corbe, Corbah, or Comhurba, supposed by Usher to be the same with chorepiscopus or archipresbyter; but by Leland, upon the authority of the Irish annals, taken to be the prelate himself, or successor of the first Irish saint who presided in the particular diocese. In this sense the comhurba of St. Patrick means the then archbishop of Armagh; of Kiaran, the bishop of Clonmacnoise. Colgan, in his "Trias-Thaumaturga," is cited by Leland as another authority for this interpretation. The herenachs resided on the termon lands, and apportioned

the accruing rents and profits,—some to the bishop, some to the inferior clergy, and some to the repairs of the churches, and to the maintenance of hospitality—in certain divisions which custom had established in each diocese. They appear to have been under no injunctions of celibacy in early times. Their office, together with its dignity and emoluments, descended frequently to their children. Hence herenach lands are found to have been held in succession for many generations by several septs.

A particular tenure of land was thus created, which in the lapse of time materially diminished the interest possessed by the church in the original property. The northern bishoprics had also been encroached upon by the Irish chieftains and the Anglo-Irish peers. To them succeeded the patentees of the Ulster plantation; until at last there was scarcely a competent subsistence left for the hierarchy. The state of the parochial clergy was still more deplorable. The churches had been either destroyed in the wars, or had fallen into ruin. The benefices were small, for the bishops, being despoiled themselves, became in their turn despoilers, and applied to their own uses the incomes of their clergy, in the way, if not of commendam, of sequestration at least. Hence the cures were filled by ministers, whom Spenser and Carte, already quoted, tell us were as scandalous in character as they were ill-conditioned in fortune.

James I., being absolute master of the terms upon which his own grants were framed, undertook to remedy these abuses in a peremptory manner, and ordained that all ecclesiastical lands should be restored to their respective sees and churches; that all lands should be deemed ecclesiastical from which bishops had in former times received rents or pensions; that compositions should be made with the patentees for sites for cathedral churches; for the residences of bishops and dignitaries, and for certain other church lands which had been unintentionally conveyed away. The patentees were to receive equivalents if they compounded freely; otherwise they were to forfeit their

patents, on the ground that the king had been deceived in granting them, and then all possessions acquired under them were to pass to the church.

The inferior clergy were also taken care of. The bishops were called upon to resign all their impropriations, and to relinquish the tithes paid them out of parishes to the respective incumbents; for which sacrifice ample compensation was to be made out of the king's lands. Every undertaker's proportion, moreover, was declared a parish, to which a parochial church was attached. The incumbents, besides their tithes and dues, had glebe lands assigned to them, of 60, 90, or 120 acres, according to the extent of the respective parishes.

These formal provisions were never carried out to their full extent—much, however, was done through them, and it was in this way that the Protestant church obtained the extensive estates from which her present wealth is largely derived—wealth at all times so disproportioned to the number of persons in communion with her, as to have invested the establishment with a character of extortion from the very outset. Her political subserviency added to the odium thus incurred from the community she overburthened. The civil advantages attached by the state to the observance of her worship induced her ecclesiastics to place themselves as a body at the disposal of the government, and encouraged the more aspiring of her prelates to become politicians and party leaders. The injuries thus inflicted upon the Protestant church in Ireland are incalculable; for of all public men, ecclesiastical statesmen have been the most daring and flagitious. The cardinal ministers of the Continent furnish one set of examples, and the lords justices from the episcopal bench of the Protestant church of Ireland another, to prove the justice of this remark. For the present, it will be enough to illustrate it by a sketch of the life of the first prelate whom we meet with, after the Reformation, blending together the mingled offices of church and state, highly to the dishonour of religion, and his own advantage.

Adam, second son of Edward Loftus, a gentleman of good family and estate, was born at Swineshead, in Yorkshire.

According to Lodge, he was educated at the university of Cambridge, where, enjoying a more than ordinary allowance for support in his studies, and possessing a comely person, he appeared to much advantage before Queen Elizabeth at a public act, performing his part as a florid orator and subtle disputant with so much address, that he engaged her majesty's approbation, and a gracious promise of speedy preferment, which was liberally kept. Upon the appointment of the earl of Sussex to the government of Ireland, this courtly clerk was named his chaplain, and ran a rapid course of promotion. October 8, 1561, he obtained letters patent for the rectory of Painstown, in the diocese of Meath; and having been, in 1562, at the very early age of 28, appointed to succeed Archbishop Dowdall in the see of Armagh, he was consecrated by Hugh, archbishop of Dublin, about the close of that year.

In 1564 he became a noted pluralist, being elected dean of St. Patrick's, with the queen's license for holding that dignity with the primacy. In 1566, O'Neil destroyed the city and cathedral of Armagh; and this Protestant primate, borrowing the feeble thunder of the rejected church of Rome, pronounced, not only by himself, but by all the clergy of his diocese, sentence of excommunication against the Irish chieftain, who appears to have utterly disregarded these ecclesiastical denunciations.

On the 8th of August, 1567, Loftus was translated to the see of Dublin, because the latter was then deemed more valuable than Armagh. Upon this occasion, in obedience to the queen's letter, he resigned the deanery of St. Patrick's: but he seems to have soon obtained satisfaction for the loss of that office. In May, 1572, his urgent representations of the poverty of the see of Dublin, induced Elizabeth to grant him a dispensation to hold, with his archbishopric, any comfortable sinecures not exceeding £100 per annum in value. The archbishop availed himself freely of this privilege, although, in the following year, he was made lord chancellor; an office, with all its patronage and emoluments, which he enjoyed, with the intermission of a few months, to the day of his death. Harris,

a writer never disposed to censure the reformed religion or its prelates, is constrained to dwell upon the "excessive ambition and avarice" by which this prelate tarnished the mitre. "For, besides his promotion in the church, he grasped at every thing that became void, either for himself or family; insomuch that the dean and chapter of Christ Church were so wearied with his importunities, that, on the 28th of August, 1578, upon granting him some request, they obliged him to promise not to petition or become suitor to them for any advowson of any prebend or living, nor for any lease of any benefice, nor for any fee farm; but, when an entry of this promise came to be made in the chapter books, in his presence, he would have thrust in an exception of *one petition, and no more!*"

In 1582, Loftus was one of the lords justices of Ireland, and again in 1585. In 1583, he imitated his brethren of the English bench by staining the Reformation in Ireland with the blood of persecution. He was the unjust lord justice, says D'Alton, who illegally sentenced Dermot Hurley, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Cashel, to the cruelties of death, on Oxmantown Green, for his religious opinions; although the judges, to whom his case had been referred, had solemnly decided that he offended against English statutes only, and that, while on the one hand he could not be sent into England against his will, to be there subjected to their operation, neither on the other could he be tried under them in Ireland, which had its own parliament and laws. With this report before him, Loftus ordered the execution.*

In 1585, Sir John Perrot made a journey to the North, and left the archbishop and Sir Henry Wallop lords justices during his absence. His back was no sooner turned, according to D'Alton, but they wrote letters of complaint against him to Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, which, with the insinuations of Sir Jeffery Fenton, then in England, to the

* Lodge gives the patent of arms granted to Loftus upon his translation to Dublin, by which he and his heirs—as if to perpetuate the recollection of this cruelty—are authorized to bear a golden cross sprinkled with drops of blood.

queen, proved the first dawnings of Perrot's troubles. The same year great unkindness broke out between the lord deputy and archbishop, partly upon public accounts, and chiefly concerning St. Patrick's, which the lord deputy had proposed to convert into a college, as there was another cathedral; but Loftus, being deeply interested in the livings of St. Patrick's by long leases, and other estates, granted either to himself, his children, or kinsmen, did, by all his means, withstand the alienation of these revenues. Being a man of high spirit, and used to bear sway in the government, he grew into contradiction, and from contradiction to contention with the deputy, who, on the other side, brooking no opposition, there grew some heat between them; whereof the queen taking notice, wrote to them both, to reconcile themselves together. "But," adds the old writer, from whom D'Alton quotes, "the archbishop stuck to him to the last, and was a main instrument in bringing him to his condemnation; so that Perrot, in his will, solemnly testified that the archbishop had falsely belied him." The ill-fated ex-deputy was found guilty of the charges urged against him, and only escaped from public execution by a more sudden visitation of death, in his prison at the Tower. In 1589, Loftus, drawing still more upon the munificence of his sovereign, procured a grant of "the office of the prerogative" to him, Dr. Ambrose Forth, and the survivor of them.

Having defeated the intentions of government in founding a university upon the revenues of St. Patrick's Cathedral, he determined to prevent the revival of a plan by which his private interest could not fail to suffer. With this view he became a warm promoter of the college which now exists, and devoted his best influence and offices in its behalf with the Queen Elizabeth and her ministers in England. When the scheme was finally settled, he condescended, notwithstanding the number of his employments, to take the office of provost.

In 1597, Loftus was again one of the lords justices; and once more in 1599, on the sudden departure of Essex, the viceroy, to throw himself before the queen in her dressing chamber, and force on the fate by which he soon perished. At

the close of the latter year, Loftus was one of the assistant councillors to the lord president of Munster; and in 1603, still unsated with his gains, had pardon of intrusion and alienation in reference to the manors, &c. of Rathfarnham, Ballintiyer, Newtown, Stagonil, Timothan, Old Court, Kilclogan, Wexford, Hooke, Painstown, le Naas, &c. In two years afterwards, April 5, 1605, about forty-two years after his consecration, of which nearly thirty-eight were spent in the see of Dublin, he died at an advanced age in his palace of St. Sepulchre's, and was buried in St. Patrick's Church.

Our sketch of the introduction of the Protestant religion into Ireland closes appropriately enough with this account of Archbishop Loftus. In his life and actions the character of the Irish Protestant ecclesiastic is portrayed in colours that will not fade for ages. He was the head of the church for years; and his concern for its interests and his care of his own during that long period are broadly distinguishable in the number, variety, and nature of the appointments into which he pushed himself. Archbishop successively of Armagh and Dublin, dean of St. Patrick's, holder of many livings and leases of church lands, twice lord keeper of the great seal, lord chancellor from the year 1578 to the date of his death, keeper of the prerogative, four times chief governor, and provost of Trinity College, his days seem to have passed in the incessant pursuit of profitable places. For the occupation of these he does not appear to have been qualified by the possession of extraordinary talents, nor did he leave behind him in them any exalted reputation for zeal or efficiency. A quick sense of his own interest, and that dexterity in turning favourable circumstances to a good account which occasionally enables a clever worldly-minded intriguer to reap pecuniary rewards never coveted nor dreamed of by men of genius, seem to have constituted his only recommendations to his large fortune and estates.

While such a man was primate, the fate of the establishment was sealed; and when other prelates followed him, pursuing the practices in which he excelled, with nearly the same success,

the new church necessarily sunk into a scandal to religion, and a calamity to the nation. Clergymen without chapels, and chapels without congregations, became common, where the hierarchy were principally known by being ministers of state, by founding families, obtaining peerages, engrossing pluralities, and amassing enormous fortunes. It little availed that a rare example of learning and piety appeared in Archbishop Usher, when the opposite instances of ambition, nepotism, and avarice, were numerous. In vain did Bishop Bedell strive to discountenance pluralities, and render the order apostolic and useful, by dissevering the united sees of Kilmore and Ardagh, when Montgomery, a Scotchman, favoured by James I., aggrandized himself indecently by holding the three sees of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher together. While such bishops flourished, the mitre covered the heads of the worst enemies of Protestantism in Ireland; and its complete failure was as natural as it was disgraceful. Looking at events only, it would almost seem as if it had been hitherto maintained for the purpose of assisting the younger branches of the aristocracy in England, and the more aspiring clerks of the sister establishment in that country, to become political adventurers, temporal lords, and the only rich men in a poor country. As fast as the more valuable sees fell vacant, we find them filled by some fortunate graduate from the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, with few claims to preferment save the patronage of the minister in London, or some noble connections at court.

Amongst the many persons who filled the see of Dublin, from the Reformation to the Union, we find only two who appear to have been born and educated in Ireland; and one of these was the son of a Scotchman. England supplied all the others, and so far assisted to denationalize the Protestant establishment. The same practice obtained in the other sees, with nearly the same uniformity; but it is impossible to show, within the limits of this work, the extent to which Englishmen, preferred to the Irish bench of bishops, trafficked in sees, estates, titles, and politics. By way of sample of their proceedings in these respects, however, we shall give a list—which

will suggest its own reflections—of the archbishops of Dublin, with their names, their places of birth and education, and a few additional particulars, from D'Alton's Biographies of the Prelates of that See.

1531. George Browne, an Augustinian friar from London; educated near Holywell, in Oxfordshire. The archbishopric, in his time, was rated at £534 15*s.* 2*d.* per annum. By deed, July 12, 1545, this prelate, in consideration of £40, conveyed to trustees the town of Rathlande, and sixty acres of arable land in the village and fields of Rathlande, being on the southern part of Thomas Court Wood, then lately occupied by Thomas Bathe; and also all the lands, &c. in Rathlande aforesaid, and the rents and reversions of the same; to hold for ever, to the use of William Brabazon, ancestor of the earl of Meath, his heirs and assigns, at the yearly rent of 13*s.* 4*d.* This alienation constitutes at present the earl of Meath's liberties in Dublin.

1555. Hugh Curwen, a native of Westmoreland; lord chancellor, lord justice, lord treasurer, and archbishop.

1567. Adam Loftus. Two descendants of this family were ennobled as Viscounts Lisburne and earls and marquises of Ely. The bishop's estate of Rathfarnham, taken from the church, passed, by marriage, into the Wharton family, and was sold for £62,000, in 1731, to W. Conolly, Esq., speaker of the Irish House of Commons.

1605. Thomas Jones; born in Lancashire; educated at Christchurch College, Cambridge; retained, with his primacy, the prebend of Castlenock and the rectory of Trim; lord chancellor and lord justice in 1608: had the king's letter for a grant of the monastery of the Blessed Virgin of Tristernagh, with all lands thereunto belonging, as theretofore demised by Queen Elizabeth to Captain William Piers, for a certain term then outstanding; and in 1610 obtained a further grant to himself and his son Sir Roger Jones, of two water-mills on the Boyne, near Trim, with the courses and weirs thereunto belonging, parcel of the estate of the late monastery of the Blessed Virgin of Trim; also a grant of the

monastery of the friars minors observants of Trim, with the site, church, cemetery, watermill and course, garden, orchard, and other appurtenances, an eel weir on the Boyne, the king's park, otherwise the park of Trim, containing 80 acres, and other parks, parcel of the estate of said monastery; also that religious house and its site, the church and burial ground, and the hereditaments within the same, and 80 acres adjoining the town and lands of Galroestown, parcel of the same estate; 100 acres in Ballynascallan, parcel of the estate of Walter de la Hoyde, attainted; a castle and 200 acres at Derranstown, &c. In 1614, he had a grant of the temporalities of the bishoprics of Kilmore and Ardagh during vacancy. In 1615, his see was valued at £450 per annum. In the same year, eight Roman Catholics, who had been excommunicated by this prelate for recusancy, and imprisoned, were released by the indulgence of parliament; but the archbishop having, with the characteristic pertinacity of his order, again excommunicated them, they were sent back to their former place of confinement. By his several promotions, this archbishop not only laid the foundation of a large estate, but likewise so recommended his son to royal favour, that he was created Viscount Ranelagh in a few years after his father's demise, and Baron Jones, of Navan.

1619. Lancelot Bulkeley; born at Beaumaris, educated at Brabham College, Oxford. James I. granted him a license, the year after his consecration, to hold in commendam one or more livings, not rated in the king's books at more than £100 a year. In 1640, a private act of parliament secured to him several estates and divers lands in the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare, or in some or one of them. The Commons Journals of the immediately succeeding years afford abundant evidence of the misconduct of the churchmen under this prelate. Amongst the grievances voted by parliament were the scandalous extortions sanctioned in the ecclesiastical courts, under the pretext of exacting dues for services, which, however respected under the old establishment, were unpractised and condemned as idolatry by the reformers. Yet did they

insist upon being paid for them. In the emphatic language of the Ulster dissenters, "the prelates and their faction, as they inherit the superstition of popery, so of late they exact with all severity the obsolete customs of St. Mary's gallons, mortuaries, &c., which, as they were given by superstition, and used to idolatry, so now are they taken by oppression, and applied to riotousness." Bishop Bulkeley's descendants became baronets, and were appropriately rich.

1660. James Margetson; born in Yorkshire; educated at Peterhouse College, Cambridge; translated from Dublin to Armagh. He died in August, 1678, and was buried in Christchurch. "As to his private estate and fortune," said Doctor Henry Jones, bishop of Meath, in his funeral sermon, "God blessed him in that abundantly." It was objected to him, that in England he had laid out what he had acquired in Ireland, and not there rather where he had it; but it is well known that even in Ireland, he laid out for a settlement for one of his children no less than £4,000 at once, and the like sum of £4,000 more towards the settlement there of another of his children. He was also bent on purchasing, not far off, an estate, which sold afterwards for £6,000.

1663. Michael Boyle; educated at Oxford. This family, which came from Hereford, was equally fortunate in church and state. Between the years 1619 and 1660, we count in Lodge, vol. i. pp. 144-7, no less than four of them bishops—namely, Michael, advanced to the sees of Waterford and Lismore, July 7, 1619; John, bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, who died August 2, 1620; Richard, his successor, and archbishop of Tuam, May 30, 1638; and his son, Michael, translated successively from the sees of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, to the archbishopric of Dublin, and thence to the archbishopric of Armagh. In 1660, not content with three sees, this Michael Boyle held possession of six parishes, as sinecures, under colour that he could not get clergymen to serve them, in consequence of which he received a severe reproof from his relative, Roger, earl of Orrery, lord president of Munster. In 1667, this prelate had a grant to him and his successor,

of Jordanstown, in the parish of Swords, with other lands therein; also of Callinstown, Great and Little Roween, Kilruske, &c., in the counties of Dublin and Cork. By the act of settlement he had a further confirmation of the lands of his see, together with a sequestration of so much of the forfeited lands as should increase the total income of the dioceses of Dublin and Glendalough, over and above certain manors and mensal lands, to the yearly value of £2,000. A few years before, the see had produced only £450. In 1668, he and the respective deans of his two cathedrals had a grant of several impropriations, rectories, and tithes, in the counties of Longford, Galway, Mayo, Limerick, Westmeath, Cork, Kilkenny, and Wexford. Upon his preferment to Armagh, he became lord chancellor—an office which he held for two and twenty years. He was made lord almoner in 1699; and, after having been repeatedly constituted lord justice, died in 1702, at the advanced age of 93. Michael Boyle erected a magnificent country house at Blessington, and left behind him so large an estate, that his eldest son, Murrough Boyle, was created Viscount Blessington.

1678. John Parker; born in Dublin; graduated in Trinity College there; and obtained successively Elphin, Tuam, and Dublin. He was a pluralist,—holding in commendam with these sees the rectory of Dartree in Monaghan; the treasurership of St. Patrick's, Dublin; and the prebend of Desertmore, Cork.

1681. Francis Marsh; born near Gloucester, and educated at the free school of that town, and at Emanuel College, Cambridge; was successively bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe—of Kilmore and Ardagh—and of Dublin. It was during the prelacy of this divine that Queen Mary, writing to her husband, William III., who was then in Ireland, used these remarkable words:—"I must put you in mind of one thing, believing it now the season; which is, that you would take acre of the church in Ireland,—everybody agrees that it is the worst in Christendom."

1694. Narcissus Marsh; born at Hannington, in Wiltshire;

educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford; was provost of Trinity College; then bishop of Ferns; was translated to Cashel, further promoted to Dublin, and lastly advanced to Armagh. In 1696, he had a grant to him and his successors, of the castle, town, and lands of Seatown, Newtown, &c., previously the property of the Russell family, containing 524 acres. This prelate, though remarkable for bigotry, was learned and charitable. He founded the library which bears his name, in St. Sepulchre's parish, Dublin, and is considered to have given away in different acts of charity £20,000.

1702. William King, a native of Antrim, whose father was a Scotchman; was educated at Trinity College, and held Derry before Dublin. Archbishop King effected a purchase, in his natural capacity, of the Seatown property, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, which he was obliged to relinquish and reconvey. He was a bitter controversionist, and extremely litigious and provoking both in law and politics. He does not, however, appear to have put by a fortune.

1729. John Hoadly; born at Tottenham; translated from Leighlin and Ferns.

1742. Charles Cobbe; born at Winchester; educated at Trinity College, Oxford; had the sees of Killala and Achonry, of Dromore, of Kildare, and of Dublin.

1765. William Carmichael, son of the earl of Hyndford; promoted from the archdeaconry of Bucks to the see of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, and thence translated to Dublin.

1766. Arthur Smyth: of this prelate no place of birth or education is mentioned: we are only informed that he was bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, of Down and Connor, of Meath, and last of all archbishop of Dublin, by which means he amassed a fortune of £50,000.

1772. John Cradock; born at Wolverham; educated at Cambridge; first held Kilmore, and then Dublin.

1778. Robert Fowler; birthplace not given, but educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; and a prebendary of Westminster before he became bishop of Killala and Kilmore, whence he was translated to Dublin.

1801. Charles Agar; birthplace not mentioned; his father came from Yorkshire, and he was himself educated at Christ Church College, Oxford. The Agars rivalled the Boyles and the Beresfords in their political and ecclesiastical fortunes. This bishop obtained three sees—Cloyne, Cashel, and Dublin; and three peerages—being made Baron Somerton in 1795; Viscount Somerton in 1801; and earl of Normanton in 1806. While archbishop of Cashel—he held the post for twenty-two years—this noble prelate realized £40,000 on a single fine of the Palliser estate, by running his own life against the existing lessee. At his death, in 1809, he left behind him £400,000 in money, besides landed estates. His second son was at the same time richly provided for out of his father's ecclesiastical patronage.

In a subsequent chapter, under the head of religion, we shall have some further details to add respecting the modern history and present condition of Protestantism in Ireland. One obvious remark, therefore, will be enough to make here. —It is in the lives of these and other bishops, that we read the true history of the Protestant church of Ireland, and discern the real causes of the ill success which has hitherto attended the attempt to render that form of religious worship popular in the country.

END OF VOLUME I.

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